DIODORUS OF SICILY

IN TWELVE VOLUMES

IX

BOOKS XVIII AND XIX 1–65

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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INTRODUCTION

The Sources of Books 18-20

The chief source of Diodorus in Books 18 through 20, except for the material dealing with Italy and Sicily, is the history of Hieronymus of Cardia, a friend and fellow countryman of Eumenes, and after Eumenes' death the companion of Antigonus, Demetrius, and Gonatas. Save for a few fragments (*FGrH*, No. 154) the work of Hieronymus is lost, but certain of these fragments (*e.g.*, the description of the funeral car of Alexander, frag. 2) can be brought into direct relation with Diodorus. It is a safe assumption that he centred his history about the careers of the leaders whom he successively served; and, following him, Diodorus makes his narrative revolve about Eumenes, Antigonus, and Demetrius. Hieronymus was with Eumenes throughout the campaigns that followed the death of Alexander, took refuge with him on Nora, and was wounded in the final battle at Gabenê. In the accounts of the duel between Eumenes and Neoptolemus (Book 18. 31), the sufferings on Nora (chap. 42), and Eumenes' devices for retaining the support of his generals (Book 19. 15, 23, 24) Diodorus presents vivid details that must come from an eye-witness; and in Antigonus' statement of his reasons for unwillingly ordering the death of Eumenes (Book

19. 44. 1-3), which he must certainly have desired, we probably have the explanation that he offered to Hieronymus when he attached the latter to his personal following. Antigonus placed Hieronymus in charge of the asphalt industry on the Dead Sea, and to this we owe the detailed account of that sea and of the Nabataean Arabs (Book 19. 94-100). That Diodorus tells more of the disposition of the troops of Demetrius at Gaza than of that of the enemy (Book 19. 82-83) is due to Hieronymus' presence by the side of Demetrius. Diodorus' treatment of Antigonus is, in general, sympathetic, but Antigonus is never presented as a hero as are both Eumenes and Demetrius ; and here again we have a reflection of the attitude of Hieronymus.

Although Hieronymus is Diodorus' chief source, he is not the only one. The fulsome praise of Ptolemy (Books 18. 14. 1, 28. 5-6, 33. 3 ; 19. 86. 3) is certainly not from Hieronymus but from a source favourable to the Egyptian leader ; and the confused account of Perdiccas' ill-fated campaign in Egypt (Book 18. 33-36) is probably the result of a careless combination of Hieronymus and this second source.

There is general agreement that the major part of Diodorus' narrative of Sicilian affairs in this period rests on the *History of Agathocles* by Duris. Not only is there similarity between portions of Diodorus and certain fragments of Duris (Book 20. 41. 3 and 104. 3 compared with *FGrH*, 76. 17 and 18), but also the series of brilliantly described scenes and the generally favourable treatment of Agathocles fit that author, a follower of the grand style and himself tyrant of Samos. It is also agreed that parts of the narrative rest upon Timaeus, who is directly cited

in Book 20. 79. 5, 89. 5, and to whom we probably owe the passages that are definitely hostile to Agathocles (*e.g.* Book 19. 7, 8) or laudatory of his enemies (Book 19. 71. 4 compared with 3. 3-4).

The theory has been advanced that for his brief notices of Roman affairs in Books 19 and 20 Diodorus used one of the earlier annalists, for example, Fabius Pictor, and thus preserves a purer tradition than that of Livy. Although it is quite probable that Diodorus did use a brief account of Roman history written in Greek, there is nothing in the scattered notices to indicate the nature of this work. The statement that the Romans found Luceria a useful stronghold against the near-by peoples " down to our times " (Book 19. 72. 9) is probably taken in its entirety from this source ; but Luceria may well have been used by the Romans in the Social War as it certainly was in the Civil Wars, and the passage cannot be used, as it has been, to prove a source contemporary with the war against Hannibal. The nature of Diodorus' source for the history of Rome and Italy must therefore remain an open question.

It is also an open question whether Diodorus used any of these writers directly. He may have followed Hieronymus, Duris, and the unidentified writer on Italian affairs for the several portions of his history, adding material from other sources when he wished ; or he may have followed some unknown work or works in which the combination had already been made.

More detailed discussions of the problems suggested in these paragraphs will be found in Rudolf Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diodochenzeit*, and in the articles on Diodorus, Diyllus, Duris, Hieronymus,

and Timaeus in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

Note on Chronology

The dates given throughout this volume, both in the margin of the translation and in the notes, have been taken from the chronological table in the second edition of Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*, 4. 2. 624 ff.

Hieronymus seems to have arranged his history by campaigning seasons, equivalent to the years of our calendar, clearly marking the end of each season by indicating the winter quarters of the various armies ; and in general Diodorus followed this same plan, relating all the events of each year before passing to the next, and usually calling attention to the winter quarters of the chief leaders. For his own chronological framework, however, Diodorus used the Athenian archon years, and in fitting the campaigning seasons into these archon years he is not always consistent. As a rule he gives under each archon all the events of the year during which he took office ; thus, under the archon of 318/17 he narrates all the events of 318. Quite naturally, in introducing a new character whose previous career has been outside the main course of the history, he goes back and tells what is necessary of that earlier career. Thus the whole story of Agathocles' rise to power is given at the beginning of Book 19 in connection with his successful *coup de main* in 317.

If the chronology of Diodorus is thus interpreted, it is reasonably accurate and consistent. Diodorus, indeed, gives his account of the final campaign of Eumenes after naming the archon of 316/15 (Book

19. 17-34, 37-43); that is, he puts it at the beginning of the campaigning season of 316 rather than in the last half of 317 where it belongs. But this is an understandable and not very serious difference. The campaign certainly started before the end of the summer of 317 (Book 19. 18. 1, 19. 1-2, 21. 2), was briefly interrupted when both armies went into winter quarters, but started again in December (37. 3), and the final battle probably took place late in that month or early in January. Diodorus simply placed the whole campaign in the year in which the final decision was reached. Chapters 15 to 43 of Book 18, however, present special difficulties. The events of 322 should, by Diodorus' usual method, follow his mention of the archon of 322/1 in chapter 26, but they are actually narrated in the eleven chapters just preceding; and in chapter 26, after the archon is named, we go at once to the burial of Alexander in 321 (chaps. 26-28), the building of the funeral car being described here in connection with the transportation of the body to Egypt rather than two years earlier when construction was started. The next archonship to be mentioned is that of 319/18 in chapter 44, and the narrative of 319 immediately follows in its proper place. It would be easy to assume one or more lacunae between chapters 28 and 44 with the loss of the names of the archons of 321/0 and 320/19 and much of the history of the two years, but that would not explain the earlier irregularity; and the omission of the second of these archons from the Parian Marble may possibly suggest some more deep-seated trouble.

In equating the Roman and Greek systems of chronology, Diodorus used a list of Roman consuls

to which the " dictator years " of 333, 324, 309, and 301 had not been added. In the period here in question he assigns the consuls to years that differ from those of the traditional (Varronian) chronology by two years at the beginning of Book 18 (cp. chap. 2. 1 and note) and thereafter by one year; but he usually agrees with Livy in assigning events to the years of particular consuls, and, since the " dictator years " are quite certainly imaginary, his chronology is, to this extent, better than the Varronian. (Cp. H. Stuart Jones in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, 7. 321 f.)

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OF

DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XVIII

Τάδε ̓́νεστιν ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βύβλων

Ἡ γενομένη ταραχὴ καὶ στάσις μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσιν.

Περδίκκου παράληψις τῆς κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπιμελείας καὶ διαίρεσις τῶν σατραπειῶν.

Ἀπόστασις τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις Ἑλλήνων καὶ ἀποστολὴ στρατηγοῦ Πίθωνος ἐπ' αὐτούς.

Ἀπαγγελία τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν θέσεως καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ σατραπειῶν.

Ὡς Πίθων κατεπολέμησε τοὺς ἀποστάντας Ἕλληνας.

Ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Λαμιακόν.

Ὡς Λεωσθένης ἀναδειχθεὶς στρατηγὸς καὶ συστησάμενος δύναμιν ἐνίκησε μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ συνέκλεισεν εἰς πόλιν Λαμίαν.

Λεωσθένους τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τελευτὴ καὶ ἐπιτάφιος.

Παράληψις τῶν σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ τῶν μεμερισμένων αὐτάς.

Ἱππομαχία τῶν Ἑλλήνων πρὸς Λεοννάτον καὶ νίκη τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος Λεοννάτου σφαγέντος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ παρέλαβε τὴν Λεοννάτου δύναμιν.

[1] *i.e.* those of the far eastern part of the empire.

CONTENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

The disturbance and contention in the armies after the death of Alexander (chaps. 1-2).

How Perdiccas assumed the regency; and the division of the satrapies (chaps. 3-4).

Revolt of the Greeks in the upper satrapies,[1] and the dispatch of Pithon as general against them (chap. 4).

Description of the situation in Asia, and of the satrapies therein (chaps. 5-6).

How Pithon conquered the Greeks who had rebelled (chap. 7).

How the Athenians began what is known as the Lamian War against Antipater (chaps. 8-9).

How Leosthenes, having been made general and having assembled an army, defeated Antipater in battle and shut him up in Lamia (chaps. 9-12).

The death of the general Leosthenes, and the funeral oration in his honour (chap. 13).

How the satrapies were taken over by those to whom they had been assigned (chap. 14).

The cavalry battle of the Greeks against Leonnatus, and the victory of the Greeks (chaps. 14-15).

How Antipater took over the army of Leonnatus after the latter had been slain in battle (chap. 15).

Ὡς Κλεῖτος ὁ τῶν Μακεδόνων ναύαρχος ἐνίκησε δυσὶ ναυμαχίαις τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

Ὡς Περδίκκας Ἀριαράθην τὸν βασιλέα παρατάξει μεγάλῃ νικήσας ἐζώγρησε τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων.

Ὡς Κρατερὸς βοηθήσας Ἀντιπάτρῳ ἐνίκησε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ κατέλυσε τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον.

Περὶ τῶν ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου πραχθέντων πρὸς Ἀθηναίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας.

Περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ κατὰ Κυρήνην πολέμῳ Πτολεμαίῳ.

Ὡς Περδίκκας ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν Πισιδίαν Λαρανδεῖς μὲν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, Ἰσαυρεῖς δὲ πολιορκήσας συνηνάγκασεν ἑαυτούς τε κατασφάξαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμπρῆσαι.

Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ Κρατεροῦ στρατεία εἰς Αἰτωλίαν.

Κατακομιδὴ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματος ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν πολυτελείας ἀπαγγελία.

Ὡς Εὐμενὴς παρατάξει νικήσας Κρατερὸν κατέσφαξεν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον.

Ὡς Περδίκκας εἰς Αἴγυπτον στρατεύσας ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀνῃρέθη.

Ὡς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελητὴς ᾑρέθη Πίθων καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Ἀρριδαῖος, ὕστερον δ' Ἀντίπατρος.

Ὡς Ἀντίπατρος ἡγεμὼν κατασταθεὶς τῶν ὅλων ἐμερίσατο τὰς σατραπείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐν Τριπαραδείσῳ τῆς Συρίας.

Ὡς Ἀντίγονος ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου κατασταθεὶς στρατηγὸς κατεπολέμησε τὸν Εὐμενῆ.

How Cleitus, the Macedonian admiral, defeated the Greeks in two naval battles (chap. 15).

How Perdiccas, after defeating King Ariarathes in a great engagement, took the king and many others captive (chap. 16).

How Craterus, going to the aid of Antipater, defeated the Greeks and ended the Lamian War (chaps. 16-17).

The dealings of Antipater with the Athenians and the other Greeks (chap. 18).

Concerning the achievements of Ptolemy in the war about Cyrenê (chaps. 19-21).

How Perdiccas invaded Pisidia and enslaved the Larandians, and, besieging the Isaurians, forced them to kill themselves and burn their city (chap. 22).

The invasion of Aetolia by Antipater and Craterus (chaps. 24-25).

The transfer of the body of Alexander from Babylon to Alexandria, and description of the magnificent funeral chariot (chaps. 26-28).

How Eumenes, defeating Craterus in an engagement, killed him and Neoptolemus in the battle (chaps. 29-32).

How Perdiccas invaded Egypt and was destroyed by his friends (chaps. 33-36).

How Pithon was chosen guardian of the kings and Arrhidaeus with him, and Antipater afterwards (chaps. 36-39).

How Antipater, being set up as supreme commander, divided the satrapies anew at Triparadeisus in Syria (chap. 39).

How Antigonus, having been made general by Antipater, defeated Eumenes (chaps. 40-41).

Περὶ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν γενομένων παραδόξων μεταβολῶν.

Ὡς Πτολεμαῖος τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν προσεκτήσατο.

Ὡς Ἀντίγονος Ἀλκέταν ἐνίκησεν ἐπιφανεῖ παρατάξει.

Ἀντιπάτρου θάνατος καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως παράληψις ὑπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος.

Ὡς Ἀντίγονος μετεωρισθεὶς ἐπί τε τῇ Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτῇ καὶ τοῖς ὑφ᾽ αὐτοῦ κατειργασμένοις ἀντεποιήσατο τῆς βασιλείας.

Εὐμενοῦς αὔξησις παράδοξος καὶ παράληψις τῆς τε τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελείας καὶ τῆς Μακεδονικῆς δυνάμεως.

Κασάνδρου αὔξησις καὶ πόλεμος πρὸς Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν βασιλέων[1] καὶ κοινοπραγία πρὸς Ἀντίγονον.

Ὡς Εὐμενὴς ἐν Κιλικίᾳ τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας παραλαβὼν εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας ἀπῆλθε καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον παρεσκευάσατο.

Περὶ τῆς Εὐμενοῦς ἀγχινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας καὶ τῶν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραχθέντων μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς.

Τὰ συμβάντα περὶ Κάσανδρον κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ Νικάνορα τὸν φρουροῦντα τὴν Μουνυχίαν.

Φωκίωνος τοῦ χρηστοῦ προσαγορευθέντος θάνατος.

Ὡς Πολυπέρχων Μεγαλοπολίτας πολιορκήσας καὶ πολλὰ παθὼν καὶ δράσας ἄπρακτος ἐπανῆλθεν.

Ὡς Κλεῖτος ὁ Πολυπέρχοντος ναύαρχος ἐνίκησε ναυμαχίᾳ Νικάνορα τὸν Κασάνδρου ναύαρχον.

[1] βασιλέων Rhodoman : βασιλειῶν.

CONTENTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH BOOK

About Eumenes, and the strange changes of fortune that befell him (chap. 42).

How Ptolemy added Phoenicia and Coelê Syria to his domains (chap. 43).

How Antigonus defeated Alcetas in a noteworthy engagement (chaps. 44-47).

The death of Antipater, and the taking over of the royal army by Polyperchon (chaps. 48-49).

How Antigonus, encouraged by the death of Antipater and by his own accomplishments, became a competitor for the throne (chaps. 50-52).

How Eumenes unexpectedly gained in power and took over both the guardianship of the kings and the command of the Macedonian army (chap. 53).

The rise of Cassander and his war against Polyperchon, the guardian of the kings, and his co-operation with Antigonus (chaps. 54-57).

How Eumenes took over the Silver Shields in Cilicia, retired to the upper satrapies, and made ready for himself a considerable army (chaps. 58-59).

About the shrewdness and generalship of Eumenes, and about his deeds up to his death (chaps. 60-63).

What happened in Attica in regard to Cassander and Nicanor, commander of the garrison at Munychia (chaps. 64-65, 68-69).

The death of Phocion, called the Good (chaps. 66-67).

How Polyperchon besieged the people of Megalopolis, and, after many losses and successes, withdrew without accomplishing anything (chaps. 69-72).

How Cleitus, the admiral of Polyperchon, defeated Nicanor, the admiral of Cassander, in a naval battle (chap. 72).

Ὡς Ἀντίγονος ἐπιφανῶς νικήσας ναυμαχίᾳ τὸν Κλεῖτον ἐθαλαττοκράτησεν.

Ὡς Εὐμενὴς ὑπὸ Σελεύκου περὶ τὴν Βαβυλῶνα συγκλεισθεὶς εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ἐσώθη διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀγχίνοιαν.

Ὡς Πολυπέρχων καταφρονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ ταπεινωθεὶς διεπολέμει πρὸς Κάσανδρον.

How Antigonus gained the supremacy on the sea by brilliantly defeating Cleitus in a naval battle (chap. 72).

How Eumenes, although he had been surrounded near Babylon by Seleucus and was in extreme danger, was saved by his own shrewdness (chap. 73).

How Polyperchon, although despised and humiliated by the Greeks, continued to fight against Cassander (chaps. 74-75).

ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ

ΤΟΥ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΩΤΟΥ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΚΗΣ

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΟΚΤΩΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Πυθαγόρας ὁ Σάμιος καί τινες ἕτεροι τῶν
παλαιῶν φυσικῶν ἀπεφήναντο τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀν-
θρώπων ὑπάρχειν ἀθανάτους, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ
δόγματι τούτῳ καὶ προγινώσκειν αὐτὰς τὰ μέλ-
λοντα καθ' ὃν ἂν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ τελευτῇ τὸν ἀπὸ
2 τοῦ σώματος χωρισμὸν ποιῶνται. τούτοις δὲ ἔοικε
συμφωνεῖν καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς Ὅμηρος, παρεισάγων
τὸν Ἕκτορα κατὰ τὸν τῆς τελευτῆς καιρὸν προ-
λέγοντα τῷ Ἀχιλλεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα συντόμως αὐτῷ
3 συνακολουθήσειν θάνατον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ
τοὺς νεωτέρους χρόνους ἐπὶ πολλῶν καταστρεφόν-
των τὸν βίον ἱστορεῖται γεγονέναι τὸ προειρημένον
καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος
4 τελευτῆς. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι μεταλλάττων
τὸν βίον, κατὰ τὴν ἐσχάτην ἀναπνοὴν ἐρωτηθεὶς
ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων τίνι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολείπει, εἶπεν
Τῷ ἀρίστῳ· προορῶμαι γὰρ ἐπιτάφιον μέγαν ἀγῶ-

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DIODORUS OF SICILY

BOOK XVIII

1. Pythagoras of Samos and some others of the 323 B.C. ancient philosophers declared that the souls of men are immortal, and also that, in accordance with this doctrine, souls foreknow the future at that moment in death when they are departing from the bodies. It seems that the poet Homer agreed with them, for he introduced Hector at the time of his decease foretelling to Achilles the death that was soon to come upon him.[1] Likewise it is reported that even in more recent times what we have described above has happened in the case of many men as they were coming to the end of life, and in particular on the occasion of the death of Alexander of Macedon. When he was quitting life in Babylon and at his last breath was asked by his friends to whom he was leaving the kingdom, he said, "To the best man; for I foresee that a great combat of my friends will

[1] Homer, *Iliad*, 22. 358-360.

5 να γενησόμενόν μοι τῶν φίλων. ὅπερ καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἐξέβη· οἱ γὰρ ἐπιφανέστατοι τῶν φίλων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πρωτείου διενεχθέντες πολλοὺς[1] καὶ μεγάλους ἀγῶνας συνεστήσαντο μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτήν.

Τὰς δὲ συντελεσθείσας ὑπ' αὐτῶν πράξεις ἡ βύβλος αὕτη περιέχουσα ποιήσει φανερὸν τὸ ῥηθὲν
6 τοῖς φιλαναγνωστοῦσιν. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ ταύτης[2] βύβλος τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις ἁπάσας περιείληφε μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς· αὕτη δὲ τὰ τοῖς διαδεξαμένοις τὴν τούτου βασιλείαν πεπραγμένα περιέχουσα τελευτὴν μὲν ἔχει τὸν προηγούμενον ἐνιαυτὸν τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος, περιείληφεν δ' ἔτη ἑπτά.

2. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Κηφισοδώρου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Φρούριον καὶ Δέκιον Ἰούνιον.[3] ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ βασιλέως τετελευτηκότος ἄπαιδος ἀναρχία
2 καὶ πολλὴ στάσις ἐγένετο περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγξ Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν Φιλ-

[1] πολέμους after πολλοὺς deleted by Dindorf.
[2] συντελεσθεῖσα after ταύτης deleted by Dindorf.
[3] Φρούριον and Δέκιον in the MSS., but cp. the note on the translation.

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[1] Cp. Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander*, 7. 26. 3; Curtius, 10. 5. 5; Justin, 12. 15. 6-8.

[2] Diodorus (19. 2. 1) dates the beginning of the tyranny of Agathocles in the archonship of Demogenes, 317/16. The events recorded in Book 18 are divided among the years of four archons: Cephisodorus, 323/2 (chaps. 2-25); Philocles, 322/1 (chaps. 26-43); Apollodorus, 319/18 (chaps. 44-57); and Archippus, 318/17 (chaps. 58-75). The burial of Alexander (chaps. 26-28) and the campaign of Eumenes against

be my funeral games."[1] And this actually happened; for after the death of Alexander the foremost of his friends quarrelled about the primacy and joined in many great combats. 323 B.C.

This Book, which contains an account of the deeds accomplished by these friends, will make the philosopher's saying clear to the interested reader. The preceding Book included all the acts of Alexander up to his death; this one, containing the deeds of those who succeeded to his kingdom, ends with the year before the tyranny of Agathocles and includes seven years.[2]

2. When Cephisodorus was archon at Athens, the Romans elected Lucius Frurius and Decius Junius consuls.[3] During this term the throne was vacant, since Alexander the king had died without issue, and great contention arose over the leadership.[4] The phalanx of the infantry was supporting Arrhidaeus,

Craterus (chaps. 29-32), which fill the first part of Diodorus' narrative of 322/1, are placed by the *Marmor Parium* in the following year. The remaining events recorded by Diodorus as taking place in 322/1 are not mentioned in the *Marmor Parium*, which has no entry for 320/19. It seems impossible to determine whether the chronological confusion is due to Diodorus himself, or to one or more undiscoverable lacunae in the manuscripts. For a further discussion of this problem cp. "Note on Chronology" in the Introduction to this volume.

[3] Cephisodorus was archon in 323/2. According to the conventional (Varronian) chronology, Lucius Furius Camillus and Decimus Junius Brutus Scaeva were consuls in 325 B.C., the former holding the office for the second time (Livy, 8. 29. 2). Cp. H. Stuart Jones in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 7. 321-322.

[4] For other accounts of the quarrel and the settlement cp. Dexippus, *FGrH*, 100. 8; Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 1-3; Curtius, 10. 6-8; Justin, 13. 2-4; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 3. 1.

ἵππου μὲν υἱόν, ψυχικοῖς δὲ πάθεσι συνεχόμενον ἀνιάτοις προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν· οἱ δὲ μέγιστον ἔχοντες ἀξίωμα τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματοφυλάκων συνεδρεύσαντες καὶ προσλαβόμενοι τὸ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν ἑταίρων ὀνομαζομένων σύστημα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διαγωνίζεσθαι τοῖς ὅπλοις πρὸς τὴν φάλαγγα διέγνωσαν καὶ πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωμα ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν, ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Μελέαγρος, ἀξιοῦντες πειθαρχεῖν αὐτοῖς.
3 ὁ δὲ Μελέαγρος ὡς ἧκεν πρὸς τοὺς[1] φαλαγγίτας, τῆς μὲν πρεσβείας οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσατο μνείαν, τοὐναντίον δ' ἐπαινέσας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς δεδογμένοις παρώξυνε κατὰ τῶν ἐναντιουμένων. διόπερ οἱ Μακεδόνες ἡγεμόνα καταστήσαντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν Μελέαγρον προῆγον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιλέγοντας μετὰ
4 τῶν ὅπλων. τῶν δὲ σωματοφυλάκων ἀποχωρησάντων ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος καὶ παρασκευαζομένων εἰς πόλεμον οἱ χαριέστατοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπεισαν αὐτοὺς ὁμονοῆσαι. εὐθὺ δὲ βασιλέα κατέστησαν τὸν Φιλίππου υἱὸν Ἀρριδαῖον καὶ μετωνόμασαν Φίλιππον, ἐπιμελητὴν δὲ τῆς βασιλείας Περδίκκαν, ᾧ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν δακτύλιον τελευτῶν δεδώκει, τοὺς δὲ ἀξιολογωτάτους τῶν φίλων καὶ σωματοφυλάκων παραλαβεῖν τὰς σατραπείας καὶ ὑπακούειν τῷ τε βασιλεῖ καὶ τῷ Περδίκκᾳ.

3. Οὗτος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν

[1] πεζοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀξίωμα ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος after τοὺς deleted by Wesseling.

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[1] According to Plutarch (*Alexander*, 77. 5), Arrhidaeus' mother was an obscure woman named Philinna, and his own mental deficiency was due to a drug given him by Olympais.

son of Philip, for the kingship, although he was afflicted with an incurable mental illness.[1] The most influential of the Friends and of the Bodyguard, however, taking counsel together and joining to themselves the corps of horsemen known as the Companions, at first decided to take up arms against the phalanx and sent to the infantry envoys chosen from men of rank, of whom the most prominent was Meleager, demanding submission to their orders. Meleager, however, when he came to the men of the phalanx, made no mention of his mission but, on the contrary, praised them for the resolution that they had taken and sharpened their anger against their opponents. As a result the Macedonians made Meleager their leader and advanced under arms against those who disagreed with them; but when the Bodyguard had withdrawn from Babylon and was making ready for war, the men most inclined toward conciliation persuaded the parties to come to an agreement. Straightway they made Arrhidaeus, son of Philip, their king and changed his name to Philip; Perdiccas, to whom the king had given his ring as he died, they made regent of the kingdom[2]; and they decided that the most important of the Friends and of the Bodyguard should take over the satrapies and obey the king and Perdiccas. 323 B.C.

3. After Perdiccas had assumed the supreme com-

[2] Perdiccas did in fact act as sole regent, but by the terms of the settlement the power was divided between him and Craterus, and Meleager was made Perdiccas' lieutenant (Dexippus, *FGrH*, 100. 8. 4; Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 1-3; Justin, 13. 4. 5). Diodorus omits any reference to the expected son of Roxanê, who was to share the throne with Arrhidaeus, but beginning with chapter 18. 6 he regularly speaks of the kings rather than of the king.

καὶ συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τῷ Λάγου τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἔδωκεν, Λαομέδοντι δὲ τῷ Μιτυληναίῳ Συρίαν, Φιλώτᾳ δὲ Κιλικίαν καὶ Πίθωνι μὲν Μηδίαν, Εὐμενεῖ δὲ Παφλαγονίαν καὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ πάσας τὰς συνοριζούσας ταύταις χώρας, ἃς Ἀλέξανδρος οὐκ ἐπῆλθεν ἐκκλεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν, ὅτε διεπολέμει πρὸς Δαρεῖον, Ἀντιγόνῳ δὲ Παμφυλίαν καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην καλουμένην Φρυγίαν, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀσάνδρῳ[1] μὲν Καρίαν, Μενάνδρῳ[2] δὲ Λυδίαν, Λεοννάτῳ δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίαν. αὗται μὲν οὖν αἱ σατραπεῖαι τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐμερί-
2 σθησαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Λυσιμάχῳ μὲν ἐδόθη Θρᾴκη καὶ τὰ συνορίζοντα τῶν ἐθνῶν παρὰ τὴν Ποντικὴν θάλασσαν, ἡ δὲ Μακεδονία καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἐθνῶν Ἀντιπάτρῳ προσωρίσθη. τὰς δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν παραλελειμμένας σατραπείας ἔδοξε μὴ κινεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνας τεταγμένας· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ταξίλην καὶ Πῶρον κυρίους εἶναι τῶν ἰδίων βασιλειῶν, καθά-
3 περ αὐτὸς Ἀλέξανδρος ἦν τεταχώς.[3] Πίθωνι δὲ[4] τὴν συνορίζουσαν σατραπείαν τοῖς περὶ Ταξίλην βασιλεῦσι συνεχώρησε· τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Καύκασον κειμένην, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Παροπανισαδῶν προσ-

1 Ἀσάνδρῳ Wesseling, cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 6, 9. 37, Dexippus, *FGrH*, 100. 8. 2, Kaerst in P.-W., *Realencyclopädie*, 2. 1516: Κασάνδρῳ MSS. followed by Fischer.

2 Μενάνδρῳ Wesseling, cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 6, Dexippus, *FGrH*, 100. 8. 2, Curtius, 10. 10. 2, Justin, 13. 4. 15: Μελεάγρῳ MSS. followed by Fischer.

3 ὁμοίως δὲ . . . ἦν τεταχώς transferred from end of § 4 by Kallenberg.

4 Πίθωνι δὲ (cp. chap. 39. 6 and Dexippus, *FGrH*, 100. 8. 4), Πύθωνι δὲ Madvig, τούτων δὲ Πύθωνι μὲν τῷ Ἀγήνορος Hert-

mand and had taken counsel with the chief men, he gave Egypt to Ptolemy, son of Lagus,[1] Syria to Laomedon of Mitylenê, Cilicia to Philotas, and Media[2] to Pithon. To Eumenes he gave Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and all the lands bordering on these, which Alexander did not invade, having been prevented from doing so by the urgency of his affairs when he was finishing the war with Darius; to Antigonus he gave Pamphylia, Lycia, and what is called Great Phrygia; then to Asander, Caria; to Menander, Lydia; and to Leonnatus, Hellespontine Phrygia. These satrapies, then, were distributed in that way. In Europe, Thrace and the neighbouring tribes near the Pontic sea were given to Lysimachus, and Macedonia and the adjacent peoples were assigned to Antipater.[3] Perdiccas, however, decided not to disturb the remaining satrapies in Asia but to permit them to remain under the same rulers; likewise he determined that Taxiles and Porus should be masters of their own kingdoms as Alexander himself had arranged.[4] To Pithon he gave the satrapy next to Taxiles and the other kings; and the satrapy that lies along the Caucasus,[5] called that of the Paropanisadae, 323 B.C.

1 This list of satrapies and satraps agrees, with the exceptions noted below, with that in Dexippus (*FGrH*, 100. 8). Arrian (*FGrH*, 156. 1. 5-8) and Curtius (10. 10. 1-6) also agree, but do not include the eastern satrapies. Justin (13. 4. 9-25) is very inaccurate.

2 Media Maior; cp. on § 3.

3 Arrian assigns this command jointly to Antipater and Craterus.

4 Cp. Book 17. 86. 7, 89. 6.

5 *i.e.* the Hindu Kush.

lein: τούτων δὲ MSS. followed by Fischer, who in addenda approves Beloch's addition of Πίθωνι after βασιλεῦσι.

ὥρισεν Ὀξυάρτῃ τῷ Βακτριανῷ,[1] οὗ τὴν θυγατέρα Ῥωξάνην γεγαμηκὼς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος. καὶ Σιβυρτίῳ μὲν ἔδωκεν Ἀραχωσίαν καὶ Κεδρωσίαν, Στασάνορι δὲ τῷ Σολίῳ τὴν Ἀρίαν καὶ Δραγγινήν, Φιλίππῳ δὲ προσώρισε Βακτριανὴν καὶ Σογδιανήν, Φραταφέρνῃ δὲ Παρθυαίαν καὶ Ὑρκανίαν καὶ Πευκέστῃ μὲν Περσίδα, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ Καρμανίαν, Ἀτροπάτῃ[2] δὲ Μηδίαν, Ἄρχωνι δὲ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν, Ἀρκεσιλάῳ δὲ Μεσοποταμίαν.
4 Σέλευκον δ' ἔταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἱππαρχίαν τῶν ἑταίρων, οὖσαν ἐπιφανεστάτην· ταύτης γὰρ Ἡφαιστίων πρῶτος μὲν ἡγήσατο, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Περδίκκας,
5 τρίτος δ' ὁ προειρημένος Σέλευκος. ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν κατακομιδὴν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς ἁρμαμάξης τῆς μελλούσης κομίζειν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ τετελευτηκότος βασιλέως εἰς Ἄμμωνα ἔταξαν Ἀρριδαῖον.

4. Κρατερὸς δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων ἀνδρῶν[3] ὑπάρχων ἔτυχε προαπεσταλμένος εἰς Κιλικίαν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μετὰ τῶν ἀπολυθέντων τῆς στρατείας, ὄντων μυρίων. ἅμα δ' εἰληφὼς ἐντολὰς ἦν ἐγγράπτους, ἃς ἔδωκε μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῷ συντελέσαι, μεταλλάξαντος δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῖς δια-
2 δόχοις ἔδοξε μὴ συντελεῖν τὰ βεβουλευμένα. ὁ

[1] βασιλεῖ after Βακτριανῷ deleted by Wesseling.
[2] Ἀτροπάτῃ Bongars: Ἀτράπῃ RX, Ἀτραπῇ F.
[3] ἀνδρῶν added by Fischer.

[1] Dexippus gives this name as Rhadaphernes.
[2] Dexippus gives this name as Neoptolemus.
[3] Atropates, father-in-law of Perdiccas, had been satrap of all Media (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4. 18. 3, 7. 4. 5). He now retained the north-west portion, henceforth known as Lesser

he assigned to Oxyartes the Bactrian, whose daughter 323 B.C. Roxanê Alexander had married. He gave Arachosia and Cedrosia to Sibyrtius, Aria and Dranginê to Stasanor of Soli, Bactrianê and Sogdianê to Philip, Parthia and Hyrcania to Phrataphernes,[1] Persia to Peucestes, Carmania to Tlepolemus,[2] Media to Atropates,[3] Babylonia to Archon, and Mesopotamia to Arcesilaüs. He placed Seleucus in command of the cavalry of the Companions, a most distinguished office; for Hephaestion commanded them first, Perdiccas after him, and third the above-named Seleucus. The transportation of the body of the deceased king and the preparation of the vehicle that was to carry the body to Ammon they assigned to Arrhidaeus.[4]

4. It happened that Craterus, who was one of the most prominent men, had previously been sent away by Alexander to Cilicia with those men who had been discharged from the army, ten thousand in number.[5] At the same time he had received written instructions which the king had given him for execution; nevertheless, after the death of Alexander, it seemed best to the successors not to carry out these plans.[6] For

Media or Media Atropatenê, which soon became independent and was ruled by his descendants for many years (Strabo, 11. 13. 1).

[4] In spite of Justin (13. 4. 6), this is not Philip Arrhidaeus, the king. Cp. chaps. 26-28 and 36. 7. Pausanias (1. 6. 3) states that the body was to be buried at Aegae in Macedon, and Arrian (*FGrH*, 156. 9. 25) implies that the body was not to go to Egypt.

[5] Cp. Book 17. 109. 1.

[6] For a discussion of these plans in general, and in particular of the plan for invading Africa and Europe, see W. W. Tarn, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 49 (1939), pp. 124-135; and C. A. Robinson, Jr., *American Journal of Philology*, 61 (1940), pp. 402-412.

γὰρ Περδίκκας παραλαβὼν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι τοῦ βασιλέως τήν τε συντέλειαν τῆς Ἡφαιστίωνος πυρᾶς, πολλῶν δεομένην χρημάτων, τάς τε λοιπὰς αὐτοῦ ἐπιβολὰς πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας οὔσας καὶ δαπάνας ἀνυπερβλήτους ἐχούσας ἔκρινε συμφέρειν
3 ἀκύρους ποιῆσαι. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δόξῃ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας γνώμης καθαιρεῖν τι τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἐπὶ τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων πλῆθος ἀνήνεγκε τὴν περὶ τούτων βουλήν.

4 Ἦν δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων τὰ μέγιστα καὶ μνήμης ἄξια τάδε· χιλίας μὲν ναῦς μακρὰς μείζους τριήρων ναυπηγήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην καὶ Συρίαν καὶ Κιλικίαν καὶ Κύπρον πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδονίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παρὰ θάλατταν κατοικοῦντας τῆς τε Λιβύης καὶ Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς ὁμόρου χώρας παραθαλαττίου μέχρι Σικελίας· ὁδοποιῆσαι δὲ τὴν παραθαλάττιον τῆς Λιβύης μέχρι στηλῶν Ἡρακλείων, ἀκολούθως δὲ τῷ τηλικούτῳ στόλῳ λιμένας καὶ νεώρια κατασκευάσαι κατὰ τοὺς ἐπικαίρους τῶν τόπων[1]· ναούς τε κατασκευάσαι πολυτελεῖς ἕξ, ἀπὸ ταλάντων χιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων ἕκαστον· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις πόλεων συνοικισμοὺς καὶ σωμάτων μεταγωγὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ κατὰ τοὐναντίον ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ὅπως τὰς μεγίστας ἠπείρους ταῖς ἐπιγαμίαις καὶ ταῖς οἰκειώσεσιν εἰς κοινὴν
5 ὁμόνοιαν καὶ συγγενικὴν φιλίαν καταστήσῃ. τοὺς δὲ προειρημένους ναοὺς ἔδει κατασκευασθῆναι ἐν Δήλῳ καὶ Δελφοῖς καὶ Δωδώνῃ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μα-

[1] ἀκολούθως δὲ . . . τῶν τόπων, which follows πεντακοσίων ἕκαστον in the MSS., transferred here by Fischer.

when Perdiccas found in the memoranda of the king orders for the completion of the pyre of Hephaestion,[1] which required a great deal of money, and also for the other designs of Alexander, which were many and great and called for an unprecedented outlay, he decided that it was inexpedient to carry them out. But that he might not appear to be arbitrarily detracting anything from the glory of Alexander, he laid these matters before the common assembly of the Macedonians for consideration. 323 B.C.

The following were the largest and most remarkable items of the memoranda. It was proposed to build a thousand warships, larger than triremes, in Phoenicia, Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus for the campaign against the Carthaginians and the others who live along the coast of Libya and Iberia and the adjoining coastal region as far as Sicily[2]; to make a road along the coast of Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles and, as needed by so great an expedition, to construct ports and shipyards at suitable places; to erect six most costly temples, each at an expense of fifteen hundred talents; and, finally, to establish cities and to transplant populations from Asia to Europe and in the opposite direction from Europe to Asia, in order to bring the largest continents to common unity and to friendly kinship by means of intermarriages and family ties. The temples mentioned above were to be built at Delos, Delphi, and Dodona, and in Mace-

[1] Since the pyre had already been completed (Book 17. 114-115), the reference here appears to be to the tomb planned by Alexander (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 72. 3).

[2] The attack is to be directed against the non-Greeks on the northern coast of Africa and on the southern coast of Europe from Spain to Sicily. Cp. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7. 1. 1-4; Curtius, 10. 1. 17-18; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 68. 1.

κεδονίαν ἐν Δίῳ μὲν τοῦ Διός, ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει δὲ τῆς Ταυροπόλου, ἐν Κύρνῳ[1] δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἰλίῳ ταύτης τῆς θεᾶς κατασκευασθῆναι ναὸν ὑπερβολὴν ἑτέρῳ μὴ καταλείποντα. τοῦ δὲ πατρὸς Φιλίππου τάφον πυραμίδι παραπλήσιον μιᾷ τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν[2] κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἃς ἐν τοῖς ἑπτά τινες μεγίστοις ἔργοις κατ-
6 αριθμοῦσιν. ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων οἱ Μακεδόνες, καίπερ ἀποδεδεγμένοι καλῶς τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, ὅμως ὑπερόγκους καὶ δυσεφίκτους τὰς ἐπιβολὰς ὁρῶντες ἔκριναν μηδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων συντελεῖν.

7 Περδίκκας δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ταραχώδεις τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντας τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, ὄντας τριάκοντα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Μελέαγρον ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ πρεσβείᾳ προδότην γεγενημένον, ἐπιλαβόμενος οἰκείας διαβολῆς[3] καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς ἐπιβουλὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ
8 πεποιημένον ἐκόλασε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις τῶν κατοικισθέντων Ἑλλήνων ἀποστάντων καὶ δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον συστησαμένων ἕνα τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐξέπεμψε Πίθωνα διαπολεμήσοντα πρὸς αὐτούς.

5. Ἡμεῖς δὲ πρὸς τὰς μελλούσας ἱστορεῖσθαι

[1] For Κύρνῳ Gronovius and Wesseling suggest Κύρρῳ.
[2] τῶν added by Schaefer.
[3] ἐπιλαβόμενος . . . διαβολῆς Stephanus, ἐπιβαλόμενος . . . διαβολὰς Wesseling, Fischer: ἐπιβαλόμενος . . . διαβολῆς.

[1] Cyrnus in Macedon is otherwise unknown, but the name is found elsewhere in Greece (Herodotus, 9. 105; Pliny, *Natural History*, 4. 53), and the change to Cyrrhus, although easy, seems unnecessary.

donia a temple to Zeus at Dium, to Artemis Tauropolus 323 B.C.
at Amphipolis, and to Athena at Cyrnus.[1] Likewise at Ilium in honour of this goddess there was to be built a temple that could never be surpassed by any other.[2] A tomb for his father Philip was to be constructed to match the greatest of the pyramids of Egypt, buildings which some persons count among the seven greatest works of man.[3] When these memoranda had been read, the Macedonians, although they applauded the name of Alexander, nevertheless saw that the projects were extravagant and impracticable and decided to carry out none of those that have been mentioned.

Perdiccas first put to death those soldiers who were fomenters of discord and most at enmity with himself, thirty in number.[4] After that he also punished Meleager, who had been a traitor on the occasion of the contention and his mission,[5] using as a pretext a private quarrel and a charge that Meleager was plotting against him. Then, since the Greeks who had been settled in the upper satrapies[6] had revolted and raised an army of considerable size, he sent one of the nobles, Pithon, to fight it out with them.

5. Considering the events that are to be narrated,

[2] Cp. Strabo, 13. 1. 26.
[3] Cp. Book 1. 63. 2-9. Antipater of Sidon (*Pal. Anthol.* 9. 58), an epigrammatist of the second century B.C., gives the following as the seven wonders of the world: The walls of Babylon, the statue of Zeus by Pheidias, the hanging gardens of Babylon, the Colossus of Rhodes, the pyramids of Egypt, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Other lists combine the walls and the hanging gardens of Babylon, and add the Pharos at Alexandria.
[4] Curtius (10. 9. 18) says three hundred. Cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 4.
[5] Cp. chap. 2. 3.
[6] *i.e.* those of the far eastern part of the empire.

πράξεις οἰκεῖον εἶναι νομίζομεν ἐκθεῖναι πρότερον τάς τε αἰτίας τῆς ἀποστάσεως καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας τὴν θέσιν καὶ τῶν σατραπειῶν τὰ μεγέθη καὶ τὰς ἰδιότητας. οὕτως γὰρ μάλιστα εὐπαρακολούθητος τοῖς ἀναγινώσκουσιν ἡ διήγησις ἔσται, πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν τεθείσης τῆς ὅλης τοποθεσίας καὶ τῶν διαστημάτων.

2 Ἀπὸ τοίνυν τοῦ κατὰ Κιλικίαν Ταύρου συνεχὲς ὄρος δι' ὅλης τῆς Ἀσίας διήκει μέχρι τοῦ Καυκάσου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς Ὠκεανοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ παντοδαποῖς ἀναστήμασι λόφων διειλημμένον ἰδίας
3 καθ' ἕκαστον ἔχει προσηγορίας. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον εἰς δύο μέρη διαιρουμένης τῆς Ἀσίας τὸ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἄρκτους αὐτῆς νένευκεν, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὴν μεσημβρίαν. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις τοῖς κλίμασι τῶν ποταμῶν τὰς ῥύσεις ἐχόντων ἀντιπροσώπους, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Κασπίαν θάλατταν, οἱ δὲ εἰς τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον, ἔνιοι δὲ εἰς τὸν ὑπὸ τὰς ἄρκτους Ὠκεανὸν ἐξερεύγονται. οἱ δ' ἀντικείμενοι τούτοις οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἰνδικήν, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὸν συνεχῆ τῆς ἠπείρου ταύτης κείμενον Ὠκεανὸν ἐκβάλλουσιν, ἔνιοι δ' εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Ἐρυθρὰν
4 θάλατταν καταφέρονται. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις διειλημμένων τῶν σατραπειῶν αἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄρκτον, αἱ δ' ἐπὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν ἔχουσι τὰς κλίσεις. καὶ πρώτη μὲν τῶν πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐστραμμένων κεῖται παρὰ τὸν Τάναϊν ποταμὸν Σογδιανὴ καὶ Βακτριανή, καὶ τούτων ἐχομένη Ἀρία καὶ Παρ-

I think it proper first to set forth the causes of the 323 B.C.
revolt, the situation of Asia as a whole, and the size and characteristics of the satrapies; for by placing before my readers' eyes the topography in general and the distances I shall best make the narrative easy for them to follow.

Now from the Cilician Taurus a continuous range of mountains extends through the whole of Asia as far as the Caucasus and the Eastern Ocean.[1] This range is divided by crests of varying heights, and each part has its proper name. Asia is thus separated into two parts, one sloping to the north, the other to the south. Corresponding to these slopes, the rivers flow in opposite directions. Of those on one side, some enter the Caspian Sea, some the Pontus Euxinus, and some the Northern Ocean. Of the rivers that lie opposite to these, some empty into the ocean that faces India, some into the ocean that is adjacent to this continent, and some flow into what is called the Red Sea.[2] The satrapies likewise are divided, some sloping toward the north, the others toward the south. The first of those that face the north lie along the Tanais River[3]: Sogdianê and Bactrianê; and next to these are Aria, Parthia,

[1] The Caucasus is the Hindu Kush. The Eastern Ocean is specifically the Bay of Bengal, but thought of as forming the eastern boundary of Asia. The division of Asia by the Taurus Range follows Eratosthenes (Strabo, 2. 1. 1, 2. 5. 31-32).

[2] These three bodies of water are, respectively, the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal (called the Eastern Ocean above), and the Persian Gulf. "This continent" is probably Asia.

[3] Properly the Don, but here the Oxus (modern Amu-Darya), or possibly the Jaxartes (Syr-Darya), both of which are frequently confused with the Don by ancient writers; or, perhaps, are thought to be part of the Don River system.

θυαία καὶ Ὑρκανία,[1] δι' ἧς συμβαίνει περιέχεσθαι τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλατταν, οὖσαν καθ' αὑτήν· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Μηδία, πολλὰς μὲν ἔχουσα τόπων προσηγορίας, μεγίστη δ' οὖσα πασῶν τῶν σατραπειῶν· ἑξῆς δ' Ἀρμενία καὶ Λυκαονία καὶ Καππαδοκία, πᾶσαι τὸν ἀέρα δυσχείμερον ἔχουσαι· ταύταις δὲ συνορίζουσαι κατ' εὐθεῖαν μὲν ἥ τε μεγάλη Φρυγία καὶ ἡ ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ κειμένη, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων Λυδία καὶ Καρία, ὑπερδέξιος δὲ τῆς Φρυγίας καὶ παράλληλος ἡ Πισιδικὴ καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένη Λυκία.
5 ἐν δὲ τοῖς παρὰ θάλασσαν τόποις τούτων τῶν σατραπειῶν αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις καθίδρυνται, ὧν τὰς προσηγορίας γράφειν οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν ὑποκειμένην ὑπόθεσιν. αἱ μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἐστραμμέναι σατραπεῖαι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον καθίδρυνται.

6. Τῶν δὲ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἐστραμμένων πρώτη μὲν παρὰ τὸν Καύκασόν ἐστιν Ἰνδική, βασιλεία μεγάλη καὶ πολυάνθρωπος, οἰκουμένη δ' ὑπὸ πλειόνων Ἰνδικῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐστι μέγιστον τὸ τῶν Γανδαριδῶν ἔθνος, ἐφ' οὓς διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλεφάντων οὐκ ἐπεστράτευσεν ὁ Ἀλέξ-
2 ανδρος. ὁρίζει δὲ τὴν χώραν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἑξῆς Ἰνδικὴν ποταμὸς ὁ Γάγγης, καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγιστος[2] ὢν τῶν περὶ τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχων σταδίων τριάκοντα. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ λοιπὴ τῆς

[1] *καὶ Ὑρκανία* added by Fischer.
[2] *ὁ Γάγγης, καὶ τὸ βάθος μέγιστος* Post, *ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Γάγγης, μέγιστος* Fischer: *ὁ μέγιστος*.

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[1] This name is sometimes applied to the whole of the Caspian Sea, sometimes to its eastern portion only. Erastosthenes and later Greek geographers in general believed that the Caspian was a gulf of the Northern Ocean (Strabo, 2. 1. 17, 2. 5. 18), but Herodotus (1. 203. 1) had already called it an inland sea.

and Hyrcania, by which the Hyrcanian Sea,[1] a detached body of water, is surrounded. Next is Media, which embraces many regions with distinctive names and is the greatest of all the satrapies. Armenia, Lycaonia, and Cappadocia, all having a very wintry climate, are next. Bordering on them in a straight line are both Great Phrygia and Hellespontine Phrygia; Lydia and Caria are to the side; above Phrygia and beside it is Pisidia, with Lycia next to it. In the coastal regions of these satrapies are established the cities of the Greeks; to give their names is not necessary for our present purposes. The satrapies that face the north are situated in the way described. 323 B.C.

6. Of those satrapies that face the south, the first one along the Caucasus is India,[2] a great and populous kingdom, inhabited by many Indian nations, of which the greatest is that of the Gandaridae, against whom Alexander did not make a campaign because of the multitude of their elephants.[3] The river Ganges, which is the deepest of the region and has a width of thirty stades,[4] separates this land from the neighbouring part of India. Adjacent to this is the rest of

[2] In Book 2. 35-37, Diodorus discusses India, which he states to be square, bounded on south and east by the "Great Sea" (the Indian Ocean or the Bay of Bengal), on the west by the Indus, and on the north by the mountains. Of the southern extension of India he knows nothing.

[3] They are said to have had four thousand war elephants (Books 2. 37. 3, 17. 93. 2).

[4] In Book 2. 37. 2 the width is given as thirty stades, but in Book 17. 93. 2 it is thirty-two. Strabo (15. 1. 35) quotes Megasthenes as giving it a width of one hundred stades (about twelve miles).

Ἰνδικῆς, ἣν κατεπολέμησεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος, παραποταμίοις[1] ὕδασι κατάρρυτος καὶ κατὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπιφανεστάτη, καθ' ἣν ὑπῆρχε σὺν ἄλλαις πλείοσι βασιλείαις ἥ τε τοῦ Πώρου καὶ Ταξίλου δυναστεία, δι' ἧς συμβαίνει ῥεῖν τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμόν,
3 ἀφ' οὗ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ἡ χώρα. ἐχομένη δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀφώριστο σατραπείας Ἀραχωσία καὶ Κεδρωσία καὶ Καρμανία, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Περσίς, ἐν ᾗ τὴν Σουσιανὴν καὶ Σιττακινὴν κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν· ἑξῆς δὲ Βαβυλωνία μέχρι τῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ἀοικήτου· ἐκ δὲ θατέρου μέρους, ἀφ' οὗ ποιούμεθα τὴν ἀνάβασιν, Μεσοποταμία περιειλημμένη δυσὶ ποταμοῖς, τῷ τε Εὐφράτῃ καὶ Τίγριδι, δι' οὓς τέτευχε ταύτης τῆς προσηγορίας· ἐχομένη δὲ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας[2] Συρία ἡ ἄνω καλουμένη, καὶ αἱ συνεχεῖς ταύτῃ παραθαλάττιοι Κιλικία καὶ Παμφυλία, καὶ ἡ Κοίλη Συρία, καθ' ἣν ἡ Φοινίκη περιείληπται. παρὰ δὲ τὰ πέρατα τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας καὶ τὴν συνεχῶς κειμένην ἔρημον, καθ' ἣν ὁ Νεῖλος φερόμενος ὁρίζει Συρίαν τε καὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπεδέδεικτο σατραπεία πασῶν ἀρίστη καὶ προσόδους ἔχουσα μεγάλας Αἴγυπτος.
4 πᾶσαι δ' αὗται καυματώδεις εἰσίν, ὡς[3] ἀντιπεπονθότος[4] τοῦ κατὰ μεσημβρίαν ἀέρος τῷ πρὸς ἄρκτους καθήκοντι. αἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταπολεμηθεῖσαι σατραπεῖαι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον κείμεναι διεμερίσθησαν τοῖς ἀξιολογωτάτοις τῶν ἀνδρῶν.

7. Οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄνω καλουμέναις σατραπείαις κατοικισθέντες Ἕλληνες ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου, ποθοῦν-

[1] For *παραποταμίοις* Fischer reads *ποταμίοις* after Reiske.
[2] *Μεσοποταμίας* Reiske : *Βαβυλωνίας*.

India, which Alexander conquered, irrigated by water from the rivers and most conspicuous for its prosperity. Here were the dominions of Porus and Taxiles, together with many other kingdoms, and through it flows the Indus River, from which the country received its name. Next to the Indian satrapy Arachosia was marked off, and Cedrosia and Carmania, and Persia next to them, in which are Susianê and Sittacinê. Next comes Babylonia extending to the Arabian Desert. On the other side, in the direction from which we make the march inland, is Mesopotamia encompassed by two rivers, the Euphrates and the Tigris, to which it owes its name. Next to Mesopotamia are Upper Syria, as it is called, and the countries adjacent thereto along the sea: Cilicia, Pamphylia, and Coelê Syria, which encloses Phoenicia. Along the frontiers of Coelê Syria and along the desert that lies next to it, through which the Nile makes its way and divides Syria and Egypt,[1] the best satrapy of all and one that has great revenues, was set up, Egypt. All these countries are very hot, since the air in the south is different from that which extends to the north. The satrapies, then, that were conquered by Alexander, are situated as described, and were distributed to the most noteworthy men. 323 B.C.

7. The Greeks who had been settled by Alexander in the upper satrapies, as they were called, although

[1] By some geographers the Nile was regarded as the boundary between Asia and Libya-Africa (Strabo, 1. 4. 7); others included Egypt in Asia (Strabo, 2. 5. 33).

[3] Dindorf adds *ἂν* after *ὡς*.
[4] Fischer reads *ἀντιπνέοντος*.

τες μὲν τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ δίαιταν, ἐν δὲ
ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐξερριμμένοι, ζῶντος
μὲν τοῦ βασιλέως ὑπέμενον διὰ τὸν φόβον, τελευτή-
2 σαντος δὲ ἀπέστησαν. συμφρονήσαντες δὲ καὶ
ἑλόμενοι στρατηγὸν Φίλωνα τὸν Αἰνιᾶνα δύναμιν
ἀξιόλογον συνεστήσαντο. πεζοὺς μὲν γὰρ εἶχον
πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους,
πάντας δὲ τῶν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἀγώνων πολλάκις
πεῖραν εἰληφότας καὶ διαφόρους ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις.
3 Περδίκκας δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπό-
στασιν ἐκλήρωσεν ἐκ τῶν Μακεδόνων πεζοὺς μὲν
τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀκτακοσίους. τοῦ δὲ πλή-
θους ἑλόμενος στρατηγὸν Πίθωνα τὸν σωματο-
φύλακα μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου γεγονότα, φρονήματος δὲ
πλήρη καὶ δυνάμενον στρατηγεῖν παρέδωκε τούτῳ
τοὺς ἀποκληρωθέντας. δοὺς δ' αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς
σατράπας ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς γεγραμμένον ἦν στρα-
τιώτας δοῦναι τῷ Πίθωνι μυρίους μὲν πεζούς,
ἱππεῖς δὲ ὀκτακισχιλίους, ἐξαπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
4 ἀποστάντας. ὁ δὲ Πίθων μεγαλεπίβολος ὢν ἀσμέ-
νως ὑπήκουσεν εἰς τὴν στρατείαν, διανοούμενος
τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας ταῖς φιλανθρωπίαις προσάγε-
σθαι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν τῇ τούτων συμμαχίᾳ μεγάλην
ποιήσας ἰδιοπραγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν
5 δυναστεύειν. ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας ὑφορώμενος αὐτοῦ
τὴν ἐπιβολὴν διεκελεύσατο καταπολεμήσαντα τοὺς
ἀφεστηκότας ἅπαντας ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ τὰ λάφυρα
διαδοῦναι τοῖς στρατιώταις.

Ὁ δὲ Πίθων ἀναζεύξας μετὰ τῶν δεδομένων αὐτῷ στρατιωτῶν καὶ παρὰ τῶν σατραπῶν προσλαβόμενος τοὺς συμμάχους ἧκεν μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας. διὰ δέ τινος

they longed for the Greek customs and manner of life and were cast away in the most distant part of the kingdom, yet submitted while the king was alive through fear; but when he was dead they rose in revolt.[1] After they had taken counsel together and elected Philon the Aenianian as general, they raised a considerable force. They had more than twenty thousand foot soldiers and three thousand horse, all of whom had many times been tried in the contests of war and were distinguished for their courage. When Perdiccas heard of the revolt of the Greeks, he drew by lot from the Macedonians three thousand infantry and eight hundred horsemen. As commander of the whole he selected Pithon, who had been of the Bodyguard of Alexander, a man full of spirit and able to command, and assigned to him the troops that had been drawn. After giving him letters for the satraps, in which it was written that they should furnish Pithon ten thousand footmen and eight thousand horsemen, he sent him against the rebels. Pithon, who was a man of great ambition, gladly accepted the expedition, intending to win the Greeks over through kindness, and, after making his army great through an alliance with them, to work in his own interests and become the ruler of the upper satrapies. But Perdiccas, suspecting his design, gave him definite orders to kill all the rebels when he had subdued them, and to distribute the spoils to the soldiers. 323 B.C.

Pithon, setting out with the troops that had been given to him and receiving the auxiliaries from the satraps, came upon the rebels with all his forces.

[1] For earlier unrest in these satrapies see Book 17. 99. 5-6; Curtius, 9. 7. 1-11.

Αἰνιᾶνος διαφθείρας Λητόδωρον,[1] ἐπὶ τρισχιλίων στρατιωτῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἀποστάταις τεταγμένον,
6 τοῖς ὅλοις προετέρησε. γινομένης γὰρ τῆς παρατάξεως καὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμφιδοξουμένης ὁ προδότης ἐγκαταλιπὼν τοὺς συμμάχους ἀλόγως ἀπῆλθεν ἐπί τινα λόφον, ἔχων τοὺς[2] τρισχιλίους. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι δόξαντες τούτους πρὸς φυγὴν ὡρμηκέναι διεταράχ-
7 θησαν καὶ τραπέντες ἔφυγον. ὁ δὲ Πίθων νικήσας τῇ μάχῃ διεκηρύξατο πρὸς τοὺς ἡττημένους, κελεύων τὰ μὲν ὅπλα καταθέσθαι, αὐτοὺς δὲ τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντας ἐπὶ τὰς ἰδίας κατοικίας ἀναχωρῆσαι.
8 γενομένων δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅρκων καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀναμιχθέντων τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὁ μὲν Πίθων περιχαρὴς ἦν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ προχωρούντων τῶν πραγμάτων, οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες μνησθέντες μὲν τῆς τοῦ Περδίκκου παραγγελίας, οὐδὲν δὲ φροντίσαντες τῶν γεγενημένων ὅρκων παρεσπόνδησαν τοὺς
9 Ἕλληνας. ἀπροσδοκήτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέμενοι καὶ λαβόντες ἀφυλάκτους ἅπαντας κατηκόντισαν καὶ τὰ χρήματα διήρπασαν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Πίθων διαψευσθεὶς τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀπῆλθε μετὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

8. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Ῥόδιοι μὲν ἐκβαλόντες τὴν Μακεδονικὴν φρουρὰν ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πόλιν, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον πόλεμον ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν ὀνομασθέντα Λαμιακόν. τούτου δὲ τὰς αἰτίας ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι προεκθέσθαι χάριν τοῦ σαφεστέρας γενέσθαι τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ συντελεσθείσας πράξεις.

[1] Λητόδωρον Dittenberger, Νικόδωρον Dindorf, Διόδωρον or Ἀσκληπιόδωρον Niese: Λιπόδωρον RX, Λειπόδωρον F.
[2] τοὺς added by Dindorf.

Through the agency of a certain Aenianian he corrupted Letodorus, who had been made a commander of three thousand among the rebels, and won a complete victory. For when the battle was begun and the victory was doubtful, the traitor left his allies without warning and withdrew to a certain hill, taking his three thousand men. The rest, believing that these were bent on flight, were thrown into confusion, turned about, and fled. Pithon, being victorious in the battle, sent a herald to the conquered, ordering them to lay down their arms and to return to their several colonies after receiving pledges. When oaths to this effect had been sworn and the Greeks were interspersed among the Macedonians, Pithon was greatly pleased, seeing that the affair was progressing according to his intentions; but the Macedonians, remembering the orders of Perdiccas and having no regard for the oaths that had been sworn, broke faith with the Greeks. Setting upon them unexpectedly and catching them off their guard, they shot them all down with javelins and seized their possessions as plunder. Pithon then, cheated of his hopes, came back with the Macedonians to Perdiccas. This was the state of affairs in Asia. 323 B.C.

8. In Europe the Rhodians drove out their Macedonian garrison and freed their city, and the Athenians began what is called the Lamian War against Antipater.[1] It is necessary to set forth the causes of this war in order that the events that took place in it may be made clearer. A short time before his

[1] For the Lamian War see Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 9, 12; Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 27, *Phocion*, 23-26; Hypereides, *Funeral Oration*, 10-20; Justin, 13. 5; Pausanias, 1. 25. 3-5.

2 Ἀλέξανδρος γὰρ βραχεῖ χρόνῳ πρότερον τῆς τελευτῆς ἔκρινε κατάγειν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ταῖς Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσι φυγάδας, ἅμα μὲν δόξης ἕνεκεν, ἅμα δὲ βουλόμενος ἔχειν ἐν ἑκάστῃ πόλει πολλοὺς ἰδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς τοὺς νεωτερισμοὺς καὶ
3 τὰς ἀποστάσεις τῶν Ἑλλήνων. διόπερ ὑπογύων ὄντων τῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα Νικάνορα τὸν Σταγειρίτην, δοὺς ἐπιστολὴν περὶ τῆς καθόδου· ταύτην δὲ προσέταξεν ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει διὰ τοῦ νικήσαντος κήρυκος ἀναγνωσθῆναι τοῖς
4 πλήθεσιν. τούτου δὲ ποιήσαντος τὸ προσταχθὲν λαβὼν ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνέγνω τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τήνδε. "βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων φυγάσι. τοῦ μὲν φεύγειν ὑμᾶς οὐχ ἡμεῖς αἴτιοι γεγόναμεν, τοῦ δὲ κατελθεῖν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἡμεῖς ἐσόμεθα πλὴν τῶν ἐναγῶν. γεγράφαμεν δὲ Ἀντιπάτρῳ περὶ τούτων, ὅπως τὰς μὴ βουλομένας τῶν πόλεων κατάγειν ἀναγκάσῃ."
5 κηρυχθέντων δὲ τούτων μεγάλῳ κρότῳ ἐπεσήμηνε τὸ πλῆθος. ἀποδεξάμενοι γὰρ οἱ κατὰ τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν χάριν τοῦ βασιλέως διὰ τῆς χαρᾶς[1] ἠμείβοντο τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τοῖς ἐπαίνοις. ἦσαν δ' οἱ φυγάδες ἀπηντηκότες ἅπαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πανήγυριν, ὄντες πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων.
6 Οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ τὴν κάθοδον τῶν φυγάδων ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γινομένην ἀπεδέχοντο, Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πράξει χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Οἰνιάδας ἐκβεβληκότες ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος προσεδόκων τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς

[1] Dindorf, followed by Fischer, reads διὰ τὴν χαράν.

death, Alexander decided to restore all the exiles in 323 B.C.
the Greek cities,[1] partly for the sake of gaining fame, and partly wishing to secure many devoted personal followers in each city to counter the revolutionary movements and seditions of the Greeks. Therefore, the Olympic games being at hand,[2] he sent Nicanor of Stageira to Greece, giving him a decree about the restoration, which he ordered him to have proclaimed by the victorious herald to the crowds at the festival.[3] Nicanor carried out his instructions, and the herald received and read the following message: "King Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities. We have not been the cause of your exile, but, save for those of you who are under a curse, we shall be the cause of your return to your own native cities. We have written to Antipater about this to the end that if any cities are not willing to restore you, he may constrain them." When the herald had announced this, the crowd showed its approval with loud applause; for those at the festival welcomed the favour of the king with cries of joy, and repaid his good deed with praises. All the exiles had come together at the festival, being more than twenty thousand in number.

Now people in general welcomed the restoration of the exiles as a good thing, but the Aetolians and the Athenians took offence at the action and were angry. The reason for this was that the Aetolians had exiled the Oeniadae from their native city and

[1] Cp. Book 17. 109. 1.
[2] In 324, the year before Alexander's death.
[3] The games began with a contest of heralds, the winner in which officiated throughout the festival. Cp. Suetonius, *Nero*, 24. 1; Pausanias, 5. 22. 1 and J. G. Frazer on this passage.

παρανομήμασιν ἐπακολουθοῦσαν κόλασιν· καὶ γὰρ
ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠπειληκὼς ἦν ὡς οὐκ Οἰνιαδῶν παῖ-
7 δες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιθήσει τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς· ὁμοίως
δὲ τούτοις Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν Σάμον κατακεκληρουχη-
κότες οὐδαμῶς τὴν νῆσον ταύτην προΐεντο. οὐκ
ὄντες δ' ἀξιόμαχοι ταῖς τούτου δυνάμεσι κατὰ μὲν
τὸ παρὸν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, ἐπιτηροῦντες καιρὸν εὔ-
θετον, ὃν ἡ τύχη ταχέως αὐτοῖς παρεσκεύασε.

9. Μετ' ὀλίγον γὰρ τελευτήσαντος Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας υἱοὺς διαδόχους οὐκ ἔχοντος[1]
ἐτόλμησαν ἀντιλαβέσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς
κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας. ἀφορμὰς δὲ
ἔσχον εἰς τὸν πόλεμον τό τε πλῆθος τῶν κατα-
λειφθέντων ὑφ' Ἁρπάλου χρημάτων, περὶ ὧν τὰ
κατὰ μέρος ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ διήλθομεν,
ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀμίσθους
γενομένους ὑπὸ τῶν σατραπῶν μισθοφόρους, ὄντας
μὲν ὀκτακισχιλίους, διατρίβοντας δὲ περὶ Ταίναρον
2 τῆς Πελοποννήσου. διὸ καὶ τούτους προσέταξαν
ἐν ἀπορρήτοις Λεωσθένει τῷ Ἀθηναίῳ τὸ μὲν
πρῶτον ἀναλαβεῖν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδιοπραγοῦντα χωρὶς
τῆς τοῦ δήμου γνώμης, ὅπως ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος
ῥᾳθυμότερον διατεθῇ πρὸς τὰς παρασκευάς, κατα-
φρονῶν τοῦ Λεωσθένους, οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι σχολὴν
λάβωσι καὶ χρόνον προκατασκευάσαι τι τῶν εἰς
3 τὸν πόλεμον χρησίμων. διὸ καὶ Λεωσθένης μετὰ
πολλῆς ἡσυχίας μισθωσάμενος τοὺς προειρημένους

[1] ἔχοντος Fischer : ἐχούσης.

[1] Cp. Plutarch, *Alexander*, 49. 8.
[2] Cp. Book 17. 108. 4-8. The mercenaries brought to

expected the punishment appropriate to their wrong-doing; for the king himself had threatened that no sons of the Oeniadae, but he himself, would punish them.[1] Likewise the Athenians, who had distributed Samos in allotments to their citizens, were by no means willing to abandon that island. Being no match, however, for the forces of the king, they remained quiet for the time being, waiting for a favourable opportunity, which Fortune quickly gave them. 323 B.C.

9. When Alexander died a short time thereafter and left no sons as successors to the kingdom, the Athenians ventured to assert their liberty and to claim the leadership of the Greeks. As a resource for the war they had the sum of money left by Harpalus, the story of which we told in full in the preceding Book,[2] and likewise the mercenaries who, some eight thousand in number, had been dismissed from service by the satraps and were waiting near Taenarum in the Peloponnesus.[3] They therefore gave secret instructions about these to Leosthenes the Athenian,[4] ordering him at first to enrol them as if acting on his own responsibility without authority from the city, in order that Antipater, regarding Leosthenes with contempt, might be less energetic in his preparations, and the Athenians, on the other hand, might gain leisure and time for preparing some of the things necessary for the war. Accordingly Leosthenes had very quietly hired the troops mentioned above and, contrary to general belief,

Greece by Harpalus were no longer available (chap. 19. 2).
[3] Cp. Book 17. 111. 1-3.
[4] Leosthenes himself had been instrumental in repatriating many of these mercenaries (Pausanias, 1. 25. 5; 8. 52. 5), possibly as an agent of Athens.

*παραδόξως ἑτοίμην ἔσχε πρὸς τὰς πράξεις ἀξιό-
λογον δύναμιν· ἐστρατευμένοι γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
πολὺν χρόνον καὶ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγώνων
μετεσχηκότες ἀθληταὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεμον ἔργων
ἐγεγένηντο.*

4 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἐπράττετο μήπω καλῶς
ἐγνωσμένης τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτῆς· ἐπεὶ δέ
τινες ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος ἧκον αὐτόπται γεγονότες τῆς
τοῦ βασιλέως μεταλλαγῆς, τότε φανερῶς ὁ δῆμος
ἀπεκαλύψατο πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τῶν μὲν Ἁρ-
πάλου χρημάτων μέρος ἐξέπεμψε τῷ Λεωσθένει
καὶ πανοπλίας οὐκ ὀλίγας καὶ παρήγγειλε μηκέτι
παρακρύπτειν, ἀλλὰ φανερῶς πράττειν τι τῶν
5 συμφερόντων. ὁ δὲ διαδοὺς τοῖς μισθοφόροις τὰς
συντάξεις καὶ καθοπλίσας τοὺς ἀνόπλους παρῆλθεν
εἰς Αἰτωλίαν, συνθησόμενος κοινοπραγίαν. ἀσ-
μένως δὲ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν συνυπακουσάντων καὶ
διδόντων αὐτῷ στρατιώτας ἑπτακισχιλίους ὁ μὲν
Λεωσθένης διαπεμπόμενος πρός τε τοὺς Λοκροὺς
καὶ Φωκεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς πλησιοχώρους
παρεκάλει τῆς αὐτονομίας ἀντέχεσθαι καὶ τῆς τῶν
Μακεδόνων δεσποτείας ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

10. Ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τῶν μὲν κτη-
ματικῶν συμβουλευόντων τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, τῶν
δὲ δημοκόπων ἀνασειόντων τὰ πλήθη καὶ παρα-
καλούντων ἐρρωμένως ἔχεσθαι τοῦ πολέμου, πολὺ
τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερεῖχον οἱ τὸν πόλεμον αἱρούμενοι
καὶ τὰς τροφὰς εἰωθότες ἔχειν ἐκ τοῦ μισθοφορεῖν·
οἷς ποτ᾽ ἔφησεν ὁ Φίλιππος τὸν μὲν πόλεμον εἰρή-
2 νην ὑπάρχειν, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην πόλεμον. εὐθὺς οὖν
οἱ μὲν ῥήτορες τὰς τῶν δημοτικῶν ὁρμὰς σωματο-
ποιοῦντες ἔγραψαν ψήφισμα τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλ-

had secured a considerable number of men ready for action; for these men, who had campaigned throughout Asia for a long time and had taken part in many great conflicts, had become masters of warfare. 323 B.C.

Now these things were being done while the death of Alexander was not yet certainly known; but when some came from Babylon who had been eyewitnesses of the king's death, then the popular government openly disclosed its intention of war and sent Leosthenes part of the money of Harpalus and many suits of armour, bidding him no longer act in secret but do openly whatever was advantageous. After Leosthenes had distributed their pay to the mercenaries and had fully armed those who lacked armour, he went to Aetolia to arrange for common action. When the Aetolians listened to him gladly and gave him seven thousand soldiers, he sent to the Locrians and the Phocians and the other neighbouring peoples and urged them to assert their freedom and rid Greece of the Macedonian despotism.

10. In the Assembly at Athens, while the men of property were advising that no action be taken and the demagogues were rousing the people and urging them to prosecute the war vigorously, those who preferred war and were accustomed to make their living from paid military service were far superior in numbers. These were the men of whom Philip once said that war was peace and peace was war for them. Straightway, then, the orators gave shape to the wishes of the commons by writing a decree to the effect that the people should assume responsi-

λήνων ἐλευθερίας φροντίσαι τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὰς μὲν
φρουρουμένας πόλεις ἐλευθερῶσαι, ναῦς δὲ παρα-
σκευάσαι τετρήρεις μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, τριήρεις δὲ
διακοσίας,[1] στρατεύσασθαι δὲ πάντας Ἀθηναίους
τοὺς μέχρι ἐτῶν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρεῖς μὲν φυλὰς
τὴν Ἀττικὴν παραφυλάττειν, τὰς δ' ἑπτὰ πρὸς τὰς
3 ὑπερορίους στρατείας ἑτοίμους εἶναι. ἐκπέμψαι δὲ
καὶ πρέσβεις τοὺς ἐπελευσομένους τὰς Ἑλληνίδας
πόλεις καὶ διδάξοντας ὅτι καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὁ
δῆμος, τὴν Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν κοινὴν εἶναι πατρίδα
κρίνων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, τοὺς ἐπὶ δουλείᾳ στρατευσα-
μένους βαρβάρους ἠμύνατο κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ νῦν
οἴεται δεῖν ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων σωτηρίας
καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ναυσὶ προκινδυνεύειν.
4 Κυρωθέντος δὲ τοῦ ψηφίσματος προχειρότερον
ἢ συνέφερεν οἱ μὲν συνέσει διαφέροντες τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων ἔφασαν τὸν δῆμον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὰ μὲν
πρὸς εὐδοξίαν εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι, τοῦ δὲ συμφέροντος
διημαρτηκέναι· προεξανίστασθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν
καιρῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀνικήτους καὶ μεγάλας δυνάμεις
ἐπιβάλλεσθαι διακινδυνεύειν μηδεμιᾶς ἀνάγκης
κατεπειγούσης, καὶ φρονήσει δοκοῦντα διαφέρειν
μηδὲ ταῖς περιβοήτοις τῶν Θηβαίων συμφοραῖς
5 νενουθετῆσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῶν πρέσβεων ἐπι-
πορευομένων τὰς πόλεις καὶ τῇ συνήθει τῶν λόγων
δεινότητι παρορμώντων πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον αἱ πλεῖ-
σται μὲν συνέθεντο τὴν συμμαχίαν, αἱ μὲν κατ'
ἔθνος, αἱ δὲ κατὰ πόλιν.

[1] τετρήρεις μὲν τεσσαράκοντα, τριήρεις δὲ διακοσίας Wesseling: τριήρεις μὲν μ̄, τετρήρεις δὲ σ̄.

bility for the common freedom of the Greeks and liberate the cities that were subject to garrisons; that they should prepare forty quadriremes and two hundred triremes[1]; that all Athenians up to the age of forty should be enrolled; that three tribes should guard Attica, and that the other seven should be ready for campaigns beyond the frontiers; that envoys should be sent to visit the Greek cities and tell them that formerly the Athenian people, convinced that all Greece was the common fatherland of the Greeks, had fought by sea against those barbarians who had invaded Greece to enslave her, and that now too Athens believed it necessary to risk lives and money and ships in defence of the common safety of the Greeks. 323 B.C.

When this decree had been ratified more promptly than was wise, those of the Greeks who were superior in understanding said that the Athenian people had counselled well for glory but had missed what was expedient; for they had left the mark before the proper time and, with no necessity compelling them, were venturing to meet forces that were great and undefeated, and moreover, although they enjoyed a reputation for excelling in judgement, they had learned nothing even from the well-known misfortunes of the Thebans.[2] Nevertheless, as the ambassadors made the circuit of the cities and roused them for war with their accustomed eloquence, most of the Greeks joined the alliance, some by national groups and some by cities.

[1] But see critical note on this passage. Justin (13. 5. 8) estimates the Athenian force as two hundred ships in all.

[2] For the destruction of Thebes by Alexander cp. Book 17. 8-14.

11. Τῶν δ' ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν πρὸς Μακεδόνας ἀπέκλινον, οἱ δὲ τὴν ἡσυχίαν εἵλοντο. Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες πρῶτοι συνέθεντο τὴν συμμαχίαν, καθάπερ προείρηται, μετὰ δὲ τούτους Θετταλοὶ μὲν πάντες πλὴν Πελινναίων,[1] Οἰταῖοι δὲ πλὴν Ἡρακλεωτῶν, Ἀχαιοὶ[2] δὲ Φθιῶται πλὴν Θηβαίων, Μηλιεῖς[3] δὲ πλὴν Λαμιέων,[4] ἑξῆς δὲ Δωριεῖς ἅπαντες καὶ Λοκροὶ καὶ Φωκεῖς, ἔτι δ' Αἰνιᾶνες καὶ Ἀλυζαῖοι[5] καὶ Δόλοπες, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἀθαμᾶνες[6] καὶ Λευκάδιοι καὶ Μολοττῶν οἱ περὶ Ἀρυπταῖον· οὗτος δ' ὕπουλον συμμαχίαν συνθέμενος ὕστερον διὰ προδοσίας συνήργησε τοῖς Μακεδόσι. τῶν τ' Ἰλλυριῶν καὶ Θρᾳκῶν ὀλίγοι[7] συνέθεντο συμμαχίαν διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς Μακε-
2 δόνας μῖσος. ἑξῆς δὲ συνελάβοντο τοῦ πολέμου Καρύστιοι μὲν ἐξ Εὐβοίας, τελευταῖοι δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων Ἀργεῖοι, Σικυώνιοι, Ἠλεῖοι, Μεσσήνιοι καὶ οἱ τὴν Ἀκτὴν κατοικοῦντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν συμμαχίαν συνθέμενοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὑπῆρχον οἱ προειρημένοι.

3 Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἀπέστελλε στρατιώτας τῷ Λεωσθένει βοηθήσοντας πολιτικοὺς μὲν πεζοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακοσίους, μισθοφόρους δὲ δισχιλίους. τούτων δὲ πορευομένων διὰ τῆς Βοιωτίας ἀλλοτρίους συνέβαινεν εἶναι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς αἰτίας. Ἀλέξανδρος Θήβας κατασκάψας τὴν χώραν τοῖς
4 περιοικοῦσι Βοιωτοῖς ἔδωκεν. οὗτοι δὲ κατακλη-

[1] Πελινναίων Palmer : Πελληναίων RXV, Πελληνέων F.
[2] Ἀχαιοὶ Hertlein : Ἀχαιῶν.
[3] Μηλιεῖς Palmer : ἠλιεῖς RWV, Μιληεῖς F.
[4] Λαμιέων Palmer : Μαλέων.
[5] Ἀλυζαῖοι Palmer : Κλυζαῖοι RXV, Λυζαῖοι F.
[6] Ἀθαμᾶνες Wesseling : Ἀθάμαντες.
[7] Rhodoman adds οὐκ before ὀλίγοι.

11. Of the rest of the Greeks, some were well disposed toward the Macedonians, others remained neutral. The Aetolians in full force were the first to join the alliance, as has been said, and after them all the Thessalians except those from Pelinnaeum, the Oetaeans except the inhabitants of Heraclea, the Achaeans of Phthiotis except the people of Thebae, the Melians except those of Lamia, then in succession all the Dorians,[1] the Locrians, and the Phocians, also the Aenianians, the Alyzaeans, and the Dolopians, and in addition the Athamanians, the Leucadians, and those of the Molossians who were subject to Aryptaeus. The last named, after making a hollow alliance, later treacherously co-operated with the Macedonians. A few of the Illyrians and of the Thracians joined the alliance because of their hatred of the Macedonians. Next, the Carystians from Euboea undertook a share in the war, and finally, of the peoples of the Peloponnesus, the Argives, the Sicyonians, the Eleans, the Messenians, and those who dwell on Actê. Now those of the Greeks who joined the alliance were as I have listed them. 323 B.C.

Athens sent citizen soldiers to Leosthenes as reinforcements, five thousand foot and five hundred horse, and also two thousand mercenaries. These were to go through Boeotia, but it happened that the Boeotians were hostile to the Athenians for some such reason as the following. After Alexander had razed Thebes, he had given the land to the neighbouring Boeotians. They, having portioned out the property

[1] *i.e.* the inhabitants of Doris in central Greece.

ρουχήσαντες τὰς τῶν ἠτυχηκότων κτήσεις ἐκ τῆς χώρας μεγάλας ἐλάμβανον προσόδους. διόπερ εἰδότες ὅτι κρατήσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ πολέμῳ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἀποκαταστήσουσι τήν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν χώραν, ἀπέκλινον πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας. στρατοπεδευόντων δ᾿ αὐτῶν περὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς ὁ Λεωσθένης μέρος τῆς ἰδίας δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. μετὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραταξάμενος πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τρόπαιον στήσας ταχέως ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Πύλας· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ διατρίβων χρόνον τινὰ προκατείληπτο τὰς παρόδους καὶ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων δύναμιν ἀνεδέχετο.

12. Ἀντίπατρος δ᾿ ἀπολελειμμένος ὑπ᾿ Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατηγὸς τῆς Εὐρώπης ὡς ἐπύθετο τήν τε τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Βαβυλῶνι τελευτὴν τήν τε τῶν σατραπειῶν διαίρεσιν, πρὸς μὲν Κρατερὸν εἰς Κιλικίαν διεπέμπετο παρακαλῶν τὴν ταχίστην βοηθῆσαι (οὗτος γὰρ προαπεσταλμένος εἰς Κιλικίαν ἤμελλε κατάγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν τοὺς ἀπολελυμένους τῆς στρατείας Μακεδόνας, ὄντας ὑπὲρ τοὺς μυρίους[1]), πρὸς δὲ Φιλώταν τὸν εἰληφότα σατραπείαν τὴν ἐφ᾿ Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίαν, ὁμοίως ἀξιῶν καὶ τοῦτον βοηθῆσαι καὶ μίαν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ θυγα-
2 τέρων συνοικιεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενος. πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων συνδρομὴν ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν γεγενημένην τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ἀπέλιπε στρατηγὸν Σίππαν, δοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἱκανοὺς καὶ παραγγείλας στρατολογεῖν ὡς πλείστους· αὐτὸς δ᾿ ἀναλαβὼν Μακεδόνας μὲν μυρίους καὶ τρισχιλίους,

[1] τοὺς μυρίους Wesseling: τρισμυρίους. (See Books 17. 109. 1 and 18. 4. 1, 16. 4.

of the unfortunate people, were receiving a large income from the land. Therefore, since they knew that the Athenians, if they were successful in the war, would restore both fatherland and fields to the Thebans, they were inclined toward the Macedonians. While the Boeotians were in camp near Plataea, Leosthenes, taking part of his own forces, came into Boeotia. Drawing up his own men along with the Athenians against the inhabitants, he defeated the latter in battle and, after erecting a trophy, hurried back to Thermopylae. For there, where he had spent some time in occupying the passes in advance of the enemy, he intended to meet the Macedonian forces. 323 B.C.

12. When Antipater, who had been left by Alexander as general of Europe, heard of the death of the king in Babylon and of the distribution of the satrapies, he sent into Cilicia to Craterus, asking him to come to his aid as soon as possible (for the latter, having been previously dispatched to Cilicia, was going to bring back to Macedonia the Macedonians who had been mustered out of service, being more than ten thousand in number).[1] He also sent to Philotas,[2] who had received Hellespontine Phrygia as his satrapy, asking him likewise for aid and promising to give him one of his own daughters in marriage. As soon, however, as he learned of the movement concerted against him by the Greeks, he left Sippas as general of Macedonia, giving him a sufficient army and bidding him enlist as many men as possible, while he himself, taking thirteen thousand Mace-

[1] Cp. Books 17. 109. 1, and 18. 4. 1, 16. 4.
[2] This is an error for Leonnatus. Cp. chaps. 3. 1 and 14. 4

ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακοσίους (ἐσπάνιζε γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονία στρατιωτῶν πολιτικῶν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀπεσταλμένων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ διαδοχὴν τῆς στρατείας) ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας εἰς Θετταλίαν, συμπαραπλέοντος αὐτῷ τοῦ στόλου παντός, ὃν ἀπεσταλκὼς ἦν Ἀλέξανδρος παραπέμψοντα πλῆθος χρημάτων ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν, οὐσῶν τῶν πασῶν[1] τριήρων ἑκατὸν
3 καὶ δέκα. οἱ δὲ Θετταλοὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συμμαχοῦντες τῷ Ἀντιπάτρῳ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐξέπεμψαν αὐτῷ· ὕστερον δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων μεταπεισθέντες ἀφίππευσαν πρὸς Λεωσθένην καὶ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ταχθέντες διεπολέμουν
4 ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας. μεγάλης δὲ δυνάμεως ταύτης τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσγεγενημένης οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἐκράτουν πολὺ τῶν Μακεδόνων ὑπερέχοντες, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίπατρος μάχῃ λειφθεὶς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτε παρατάξασθαι τολμῶν οὔτ' εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν ἀσφαλῶς δυνάμενος κατέφυγεν εἰς πόλιν Λαμίαν. ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν συνέχων καὶ τὰ τείχη κατασκευάζων, ἔτι δὲ παρασκευὰς ὅπλων καὶ καταπελτῶν καὶ σίτου ποιούμενος ἐκαραδόκει τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσίας συμμάχους.

13. Λεωσθένης δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως παρελθὼν πλησίον τῆς Λαμίας καὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀχυρωσάμενος τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ καὶ χάρακι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐκτάξας τὴν δύναμιν προσῆγε τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας εἰς μάχην προυκαλεῖτο. μὴ τολμώντων δὲ αὐτῶν διαγωνίσασθαι προσβολὰς καθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἐποιεῖτο.
2 ἀμυνομένων δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων εὐρώστως πολλοὶ τῶν προπετῶς βιαζομένων Ἑλλήνων ἀπώλλυντο·

donians and six hundred horsemen (for Macedonia was short of citizen soldiers because of the number of those who had been sent to Asia as replacements for the army), set out from Macedonia to Thessaly, accompanied by the entire fleet which Alexander had sent to convoy a sum of money from the royal treasury to Macedonia, being in all one hundred and ten triremes. At first the Thessalians were allies of Antipater and sent out to him many good horsemen; but later, won over by the Athenians, they rode off to Leosthenes and, arrayed with the Athenians, fought for the liberty of the Greeks. Now that this great force had been added to the Athenians, the Greeks, who far outnumbered the Macedonians, were successful. Antipater was defeated in battle, and subsequently, since he neither dared to engage in battle nor was able to return in safety to Macedonia, he took refuge in Lamia. He kept his troops in this city and strengthened its walls, besides preparing arms, engines, and food, while anxiously waiting for his allies from Asia. 323 B.C.

13. Leosthenes, when he had come near Lamia with all his forces, fortified a camp with a deep ditch and a palisade. At first he would draw up his forces, approach the city, and challenge the Macedonians to battle; then, as the latter did not dare risk an encounter, he made daily attacks on the walls with relays of soldiers. As the Macedonians defended themselves stoutly, many of the Greeks who pushed on rashly were killed; for the besieged, since there

[1] τῶν πασῶν Kallenberg: πασῶν τῶν.

δυνάμεως γὰρ ἀξιολόγου κατὰ τὴν πόλιν οὔσης καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν ἀφθονίας, ἔτι δὲ τείχους πολυτελοῦς κατεσκευασμένου ῥᾳδίως οἱ πολιορκούμενοι
3 περιεγίνοντο. ὁ δὲ Λεωσθένης ἀπογνοὺς τὴν ἐκ βίας ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως τὰς ἀγομένας εἰς ταύτην ἀγορὰς παρῃρεῖτο, νομίζων ῥᾳδίως τῇ σιτοδείᾳ καταπολεμήσειν τοὺς ἐγκεκλεισμένους ἐν τῇ πόλει. κατεσκεύαζε δὲ καὶ τεῖχος καὶ τάφρον ὤρυττεν μεγάλην καὶ βαθεῖαν, εἴργων τοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξόδου.

4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Αἰτωλοὶ μὲν ἀξιώσαντες τὸν Λεωσθένην διά τινας ἐθνικὰς χρείας κατὰ τὸ παρὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐπ' οἴκου πάντες ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν· οὕτως δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καταπονηθέντων καὶ τῆς πόλεως κινδυνευούσης ἁλῶναι διὰ τὴν προσδοκωμένην σιτοδείαν ἡ τύχη τι[1] παρά-
5 δοξον ἀπένειμε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν εὐκλήρημα. τοῦ γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρου τοῖς τὰς τάφρους ὀρύττουσιν ἐπιθεμένου καὶ συμπλοκῆς γενομένης ὁ[2] Λεωσθένης παραβοηθῶν τοῖς ἰδίοις καὶ πληγεὶς εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθῳ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἔπεσεν καὶ λιποψυχήσας εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ἀπεκομίσθη, τῇ τρίτῃ δ' ἡμέρᾳ τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ταφέντος ἡρωικῶς διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δόξαν ὁ μὲν δῆμος τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἔπαινον εἰπεῖν προσέταξεν Ὑπερείδῃ τῷ πρωτεύοντι τῶν ῥητόρων τῇ τοῦ λόγου δεινότητι καὶ τῇ κατὰ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀλλοτριότητι·
6 κατ' ἐκεῖνον γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ μὲν κορυφαῖος τῶν Ἀθήνησι ῥητόρων Δημοσθένης ἐπεφεύγει, καταδεδικασμένος ὡς εἰληφὼς τῶν Ἁρπαλείων

[1] τι Stephanus: τὸ.
[2] μὲν after ὁ omitted by Dindorf.

was a considerable force in the city and an abundance 323 B.C. of all sorts of missiles, and the wall, moreover, had been constructed at great expense, easily had the better of the fighting. Leosthenes, giving up hope of capturing the city by storm, shut off all the supplies that were going into it, thinking that he would easily reduce by hunger the forces besieged in the city. He also built a wall and dug a deep, wide ditch, thereby cutting off all escape for the beleaguered troops.

After this the Aetolians all returned to Aetolia, having asked Leosthenes for permission to go home for the present because of some national business. Antipater and his men, however, were nearly exhausted and the city was in danger of being taken because of the anticipated famine, when chance gave the Macedonians an unexpected turn of good fortune. For when Antipater made an attack on the men who were digging the moat and a struggle ensued, Leosthenes, coming to aid his men, was struck on the head by a stone and at once fell and was carried to camp in a swoon.[1] On the third day he died and was buried with the honours of a hero because of the glory he had gained in war. The Athenian people caused the funeral oration to be delivered by Hypereides,[2] foremost of the orators in eloquence and in hostility toward the Macedonians; for at that time Demosthenes, the chief of the orators of Athens, was in exile, convicted of having taken some of the money

[1] For a different account of his death see Justin, 13. 5. 12-13.
[2] A considerable part of this oration is extant.

χρημάτων. ἀντὶ δὲ τοῦ Λεωσθένους κατεστάθη στρατηγὸς Ἀντίφιλος, ἀνὴρ συνέσει στρατηγικῇ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέρων.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐν τούτοις ἦν.[1]

14. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν τῶν μεμερισμένων τὰς σατραπείας Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ἀκινδύνως παρέλαβε τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἐγχωρίοις φιλανθρώπως προσεφέρετο, παραλαβὼν δὲ ὀκτακισχίλια τάλαντα μισθοφόρους ἤθροιζε καὶ δυνάμεις παρεσκευάζετο· συνέτρεχε δὲ καὶ φίλων πλῆθος πρὸς αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν
2 ἐπιείκειαν. πρὸς δὲ Ἀντίπατρον διαπρεσβευόμενος κοινοπραγίαν συνέθετο, σαφῶς εἰδὼς ὅτι Περδίκκας ἐπιβαλεῖται παρελέσθαι τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου σατραπείαν.

Λυσίμαχος δ' ἐπιβαλὼν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Θρᾴκην τόποις καὶ καταλαβὼν Σεύθην τὸν βασιλέα κατεστρατοπεδευκότα πεζοῖς μὲν δισμυρίοις ἱππεῦσι δ' ὀκτακισχιλίοις οὐ κατεπλάγη τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυνάμεως. ἔχων δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν οὐ πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους
3 συνῆψε μάχην τοῖς βαρβάροις. ταῖς μὲν οὖν ἀνδραγαθίαις προεῖχεν αὐτῶν, τοῖς δὲ πλήθεσι λειπόμενος καρτερὰν μάχην συνεστήσατο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλών, πολλαπλασίους δ' ἀποκτείνας ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἀμφίδοξον
4 ἔχων τὴν νίκην. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐχωρίσθησαν ἐκ τῶν τόπων αἱ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις δυνάμεις καὶ παρα-

[1] Krebs and Kallenberg believe that there is a considerable lacuna at this point.

of Harpalus.[1] In place of Leosthenes, Antiphilus 323 B.C.
was made general, a man outstanding in military genius and courage.

Such was the situation in Europe.[2]

14. In Asia, of those who had shared in the division of the satrapies, Ptolemy took over Egypt without difficulty and was treating the inhabitants with kindness. Finding eight thousand talents in the treasury, he began to collect mercenaries and to form an army. A multitude of friends also gathered about him on account of his fairness. With Antipater he carried on a diplomatic correspondence that led to a treaty of co-operation, since he well knew that Perdiccas would attempt to wrest from him the satrapy of Egypt.[3]

Lysimachus, when he entered the Thracian region and found that the king of that country, Seuthes, had taken the field with twenty thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, was not frightened by the size of the army.[4] And although he had in all no more than four thousand foot soldiers and only two thousand horsemen, he joined battle with the barbarians. In truth he was superior to them in the quality of his troops though inferior in numbers, and the battle was a stubborn one. After losing many of his own men but killing many times that number, he returned to his camp with but a doubtful claim to victory. Therefore for the moment the forces of both sides withdrew from the locality and busied

[1] According to A. Schäfer (*Demosthenes und seine Zeit*[2] (Leipzig, 1885), 3. 341), Demosthenes had returned to Athens before this time. Cp. Plutarch, *Demosthenes*, 27. 4-5.

[2] The account is continued in chap. 15. 1.

[3] Cp. chap. 29. 1.

[4] Cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 10.

σκευὰς μείζους ἐποιοῦντο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπίθεσιν.[1]

Λεοννάτος δέ, παραγενομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἑκαταίου πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ δεομένου βοηθῆσαι τὴν ταχίστην Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ Μακεδόσιν, ἐπηγγείλατο
5 συμμαχήσειν. διαβὰς οὖν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ καταντήσας εἰς Μακεδονίαν προσελάβετο πολλοὺς στρατιώτας Μακεδόνας· ἀθροίσας δὲ τοὺς ἅπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους προῆγεν διὰ τῆς Θετταλίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους.

15. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες λύσαντες τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν ἐμπρήσαντες τὸν μὲν ἀχρεῖον εἰς παράταξιν ὄχλον καὶ τὰς παρασκευὰς εἰς Μελιτίαν πόλιν ἐξέπεμψαν, αὐτοὶ δ᾿ εὔζωνοι καὶ πρὸς μάχην ὄντες ἕτοιμοι προῆγον, ἀπαντήσοντες τοῖς περὶ Λεοννάτον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον συμμῖξαι καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀμφοτέρας εἰς ἕνα τόπον συνελθεῖν.
2 εἶχον δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους· οἱ γὰρ Αἰτωλοὶ πάντες προαπηλλαχότες ἦσαν εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ὀλίγοι κατ᾿ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν ὑπῆρχον εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κεχωρισμένοι· ἱππεῖς δὲ συνεστρατεύοντο πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων, ὧν ἦσαν Θετταλοὶ δισχίλιοι διάφοροι ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ἐν οἷς
3 εἶχον μάλιστα τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας. γενομένης δ᾿ ἱππομαχίας ἰσχυρᾶς ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἐπικρατούντων, ὁ μὲν Λεοννάτος λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ διακλει-

[1] ἐπίθεσιν Wurm, διάκρισιν Madvig: διάθεσιν.

themselves with greater preparations for the final 323 B.C.
conflict.[1]

As for Leonnatus, when Hecataeus came to him as envoy and begged him to aid Antipater and the Macedonians with all speed, he promised to give military aid. He crossed over, therefore, into Europe and went on to Macedonia, where he enlisted many additional Macedonian soldiers. When he had gathered together in all more than twenty thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, he led them through Thessaly against the enemy.

15. The Greeks, giving up the siege[2] and burning 322 B.C.
their camp, sent away to the town of Melitia the camp followers, who were useless in a pitched battle, and the baggage train, while they themselves went forward with light equipment and ready for battle in order to engage the forces of Leonnatus before Antipater joined him and both armies came together in one place. They had in all twenty-two thousand foot soldiers, for all the Aetolians had previously departed to their own country and not a few of the other Greeks had at that time scattered to their native states. More than thirty-five hundred horsemen took part in the campaign, two thousand being Thessalians exceptional for their courage. In these especially the Greeks trusted for victory. Now when a fierce cavalry battle had gone on for some time and the Thessalians, thanks to their valour, were gaining the upper hand, Leonnatus, after fighting

[1] We have no account of the immediate sequel. Seuthes retained his title, but seems to have become an unwilling ally of Lysimachus, whom he deserted in 313 (Book 19. 73. 8).

[2] *i.e.* of Lamia (chap. 13. 6), which had continued through the winter of 323/2. Melitia is north of Lamia in southern Thessaly.

σθεὶς εἰς τόπον τελματώδη, τοῖς ὅλοις[1] ἠλαττοῦτο, πολλοῖς δὲ τραύμασι περιπεσὼν καὶ τελευτήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων ἤρθη καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποσκευὴν ἀπ-
4 ηνέχθη τετελευτηκώς· τῇ δ' ἱππομαχίᾳ λαμπρῶς τῶν Ἑλλήνων νενικηκότων Μένωνος ἱππαρχοῦντος τοῦ Θετταλοῦ, εὐθὺς ἡ τῶν Μακεδόνων φάλαγξ φοβουμένη τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς τὰς ὑπερκειμένας δυσχωρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν περιεποιήσατο. τῶν δὲ Θετταλῶν ἱππέων προσμαχομένων καὶ διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἀπράκτων γινομένων οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες τρόπαιον στήσαντες καὶ τῶν νεκρῶν κυριεύσαντες ἀπηλλάγησαν ἐκ τῆς μάχης.

5 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παραγενηθέντος Ἀντιπάτρου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ συμμίξαντος τοῖς ἡττημένοις μίαν οἱ πάντες Μακεδόνες ἐποιήσαντο τὴν στρατοπεδείαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων στρατηγίαν
6 παρέλαβεν Ἀντίπατρος. οὗτος δὲ κρίνας ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν καὶ θεωρῶν τοὺς πολεμίους ἱπποκρατοῦντας τὴν μὲν διὰ τῶν ὁμαλῶν[2] ἀποχώρησιν ἀπέγνω, διὰ δὲ τῆς δυσχωρίας προάγων καὶ τοὺς ὑπερδεξίους τόπους προκαταλαμβανόμενος
7 ἀπεχώρησεν ἐκ τούτων τῶν τόπων. Ἀντίφιλος δὲ ὁ τῶν Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ νικήσας τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἐφήδρευε περὶ Θετταλίαν διατρίβων καὶ καραδοκῶν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ὁρμήν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐν τοιαύταις
8 εὐημερίαις ὑπῆρχε. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων θαλασσοκρατούντων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ναυσὶν ἄλλας κατεσκεύασαν, ὥστε γενέσθαι τὰς

[1] ὅλοις Wesseling: ὅπλοις.
[2] ὁμαλῶν Dindorf: ὅπλων.

brilliantly even when cut off in a swampy place, was worsted at every point. Stricken with many wounds and at the point of death, he was taken up by his followers and carried, already dead, to the baggage train.[1] The cavalry battle having been gloriously won by the Greeks under the command of Menon the Thessalian, the Macedonian phalanx, for fear of the cavalry, at once withdrew from the plain to the difficult terrain above and gained safety for themselves by the strength of the position. When the Thessalian cavalry, which continued to attack, was unable to accomplish anything because of the rough ground, the Greeks, who had set up a trophy and gained control of the dead, left the field of battle. 322 B.C.

On the next day, however, when Antipater came up with his troops and joined the defeated, all the Macedonians united in a single camp, and Antipater took command of the whole. He decided to avoid fighting for the present and, in view of the fact that the enemy were superior in cavalry, determined not to retreat through the plain. Instead, by going through the rough country and seizing in advance any points of vantage, he made good his retreat from the region. Antiphilus, the Greek commander, having defeated the Macedonians in a glorious battle, played a waiting game, remaining in Thessaly and watching for the enemy to move.

The affairs of the Greeks were thus in thriving condition, but since the Macedonians had command of the sea, the Athenians made ready other ships in addition to those which they already had, so that

[1] Cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 9; Justin, 13. 5. 14-16.

πάσας ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα. τῶν δὲ Μακεδονικῶν νεῶν οὐσῶν διακοσίων καὶ τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ναυ-
9 αρχίαν εἶχε Κλεῖτος. οὗτος δὲ ναυμαχήσας πρὸς Εὐετίωνα[1] τὸν Ἀθηναίων ναύαρχον ἐνίκησε δυσὶν ναυμαχίαις καὶ συχνὰς τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν διέφθειρε περὶ τὰς καλουμένας Ἐχινάδας[2] νήσους.

16. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Περδίκκας, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ τόν τε βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν δύναμιν, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Ἀριαράθην τὸν Καππαδοκίας δυνάστην. οὗτος γὰρ οὐ προσέχων τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ὑπὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου παρεωράθη διὰ τοὺς περὶ Δαρεῖον ἀγῶνας καὶ περισπασμούς, ἀναστροφὴν δὲ πολυχρόνιον εἶχε κυριεύων τῆς Καπ-
2 παδοκίας. διὸ καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν προσόδων χρήματα ἤθροισε, δυνάμεις δ' ἐγχωρίους καὶ ξενικὰς μεγάλας συνεστήσατο. διὸ καὶ βασιλείας ἀντιποιούμενος ἕτοιμος ἦν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν διαγωνίζεσθαι, πεζοὺς μὲν ἔχων τρισμυρίους ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους πεντακισχιλίους. ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας συνάψας αὐτῷ μάχην καὶ τῇ παρατάξει νικήσας

[1] Εὐετίωνα Böckh : Ἡετίωνα Fischer following the MSS.
[2] Grauert suggests Λιχάδας for Ἐχινάδας (see note to translation).

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[1] Diodorus has condensed his account of the naval campaign to the point of unintelligibility, although it was probably the decisive factor in the war. We cannot even be sure whether Diodorus intends to mention two sea battles or three. T. Walek (*Revue de Philologie*, 48 (1924), 23 ff.) reconstructs the campaign as follows. While part of the original Athenian fleet of 240 ships (chap. 10. 2) blockaded the fleet of Antipater in the Malian Gulf, the rest held the Hellespont and for a time prevented Leonnatus from coming to the aid of

there were in all one hundred and seventy.[1] Cleitus 322 B.C.
was in command of the Macedonian fleet, which numbered two hundred and forty. Engaging with the Athenian admiral Evetion he defeated him in two naval battles and destroyed a large number of the ships of the enemy near the islands that are called the Echinades.

16. While these things were going on, Perdiccas, taking with him King Philip and the royal army, campaigned against Ariarathes, the ruler of Cappadocia. His failure to take orders from the Macedonians had been overlooked by Alexander, owing to the struggle with Darius and its distractions, and he had enjoyed a very long respite as king of Cappadocia.[2] As a result he had amassed a great sum of money from the revenues and had formed a large body of native troops and mercenaries. He was thus ready to enter the lists against Perdiccas in defence of his kingdom with thirty thousand infantry and fifteen thousand cavalry. Perdiccas joined battle with him, and, defeating him in the conflict, slew men to the

Antipater. Although this fleet was increased to 170 ships, it was defeated in the spring of 322 by the larger fleet of Cleitus at Abydos (cp. *Inscriptiones Graecae*, editio minor, 2. 298 and 493). Cleitus then crossed the Aegean and defeated the other Athenian fleet with great loss at the Lichades Islands in the Malian Gulf (see critical note), and at once removed to Amorgos for the final battle (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 11. 3 ; *Marmor Parium* for 323/2), which ended Athenian sea power forever. It is hard to see how any battle of this war could have taken place near the Echinades (off the west coast of Acarnania), but this name may conceal a reference to Echinus on the north shore of the Malian Gulf.

[2] According to Hieronymus of Cardia (*FGrH*, 154. 4), Ariarathes lived to the age of eighty-two. For this campaign cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 11 ; Justin, 13. 6. 1-3 ; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 3. 2, 6.

ἀνεῖλε μὲν εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, ἐζώγρησε δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀρια-
3 ράθης. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ πάντας αἰκισάμενος ἀνεσταύρωσε· τοῖς δ᾿ ἡττηθεῖσι συγχωρήσας τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ καταστήσας τὰ κατὰ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν παρέδωκε τὴν σατραπείαν Εὐμενεῖ τῷ Καρδιανῷ, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἦν μεμερισμένος.

4 Ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐκ Κιλικίας ἀναζεύξας ἧκεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, βοηθήσων τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ διορθωσόμενος τὰς γεγενημένας ἥττας τῶν Μακεδόνων. ἦγε δὲ πεζοὺς μὲν τῶν εἰς Ἀσίαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνδιαβεβηκότων ἑξακισχιλίους, τῶν δ᾿ ἐν παρόδῳ προσειλημμένων τετρακισχιλίους, Πέρσας δὲ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας χιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους.
5 παρελθὼν δ᾿ εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν καὶ τοῦ πρωτείου παραχωρήσας ἑκουσίως Ἀντιπάτρῳ κοινῇ μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Πηνειὸν ποταμόν. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἠθροίσθησαν σὺν τοῖς μετὰ Λεοννάτου παραγεγενημένοις πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων ἐν τοῖς βαρέσιν ὅπλοις, τοξόται δὲ καὶ σφενδονῆται τρισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχίλιοι.

17. Οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀντεστρατοπέδευσαν πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσι λειπόμενοι· πολλοὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας εὐημερίας καταφρονοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἦσαν ἀπεληλυθότες πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἰδίων

number of four thousand and took captive more than five thousand, among them Ariarathes himself. Now the king and all his relatives Perdiccas tortured and impaled[1]; but to the conquered people he granted immunity, and after putting in order the affairs of Cappadocia, he gave the satrapy to Eumenes of Cardia, just as it had originally been assigned.[2] 322 B.C.

About the same time Craterus also departed from Cilicia and arrived in Macedonia to reinforce Antipater and to make good the defeats that the Macedonians had suffered.[3] He brought with him six thousand foot soldiers from those who had crossed into Asia with Alexander and four thousand from those who had been enlisted on the march, one thousand Persian bowmen and slingers, and fifteen hundred horsemen. Entering Thessaly and freely yielding the chief command to Antipater, he shared a camp with him beside the Peneius River.[4] Including those who had been under Leonnatus, there were gathered together in all more than forty thousand heavy armed infantry, three thousand bowmen and slingers, and five thousand cavalry.

17. The Greeks who were encamped against them at this time were far inferior in numbers; for many of them, despising the enemy because of their former good fortune, had gone away to their own cities to

[1] But cp. Book 31. frag. 19. 3-5 (Dindorf), according to which Ariarathes fell in the battle, and an adopted son escaped, later to recover the kingdom.

[2] Cp. chap. 3. 1. The narrative is continued in chap. 22. 1.

[3] For other accounts of the final campaign of the Lamian War and the settlement that followed cp. Plutarch, *Phocion*, 26-30; Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 12; Pausanias, 7. 10. 4-5.

[4] At Crannon, from which the battle next described takes its name.

2 ἐπίσκεψιν. δι' ἃς αἰτίας πολλῶν[1] τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἀτακτούντων ὑπολοίπους εἶχον ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ
πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς
δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα
εἶχον τὰς τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδας διά τε τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ἀρετὰς καὶ διὰ τὸ πεδινὴν ὑποκεῖσθαι χώραν.
3 Τέλος δὲ τῶν περὶ Ἀντίπατρον καθ' ἡμέραν
προαγόντων τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ προκαλουμένων εἰς
μάχην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνέμενον τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πό-
λεων παραγενησομένους, τῶν δὲ καιρῶν κατεπειγόν-
των ἠναγκάζοντο συγκαταβαίνειν εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ
τῶν ὅλων κίνδυνον. ἐκτάξαντες δὲ τὴν δύναμιν
καὶ σπεύδοντες διὰ τῶν ἱππέων κρῖναι τὸν πόλεμον
τούτους πρὸ τῆς τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγος ἔστησαν.
4 γενομένης δὲ ἱππομαχίας καὶ τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱπ-
πέων πλεονεκτούντων διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς οἱ περὶ τὸν
Ἀντίπατρον ἐπήγαγον τὴν ἰδίαν φάλαγγα καὶ
τοῖς πεζοῖς τῶν πολεμίων ἐπιρράξαντες πολὺν
ἐποιοῦντο φόνον. οἱ δ' Ἕλληνες τὸ βάρος καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων οὐ δυνάμενοι φέρειν εὐθὺς
ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τὰς δυσχωρίας, τηροῦντες τὰς
τάξεις ἐπιμελῶς. διὸ καὶ δραξάμενοι τόπων ὑπερ-
δεξίων ῥᾳδίως ἠμύναντο τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ὑπερ-
5 δέξιον ἔχοντες τὴν στάσιν. οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦ προτερήματος ὄντες, ὡς ἔγνωσαν
τὴν τῶν πεζῶν ἀποχώρησιν, εὐθὺς πρὸς ἐκείνους
ἀφίππευσαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
ἀγωνισάμενοι διελύθησαν, ῥεπούσης τῆς νίκης πρὸς
τοὺς Μακεδόνας· ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν μὲν

[1] πολλῶν Post: πολλοὶ MSS., deleted by Wesseling and Fischer.

look after their private affairs. Since many soldiers 322 B.C.
were absent from duty for this reason, there remained in camp only twenty-five thousand foot soldiers and thirty-five hundred cavalry. They placed their chief hope of victory in the latter, because the men were brave and the ground was level.

At last Antipater began to draw up his forces each day and challenge the Greeks to battle. For a while these waited for their men to return from their cities, but since time was pressing, they were forced to come out and stake all. They drew up their line, placing the cavalry in front of the phalanx of infantry, since they were eager to decide the battle by means of this arm. When the cavalry had met in battle and the Thessalian horsemen were getting the advantage because of their valour, Antipater led out his own phalanx and, rushing upon the infantry of the enemy, began to make great slaughter. The Greeks, since they were not able to withstand the weight and number of the enemy, immediately withdrew to the rough ground, carefully keeping their ranks. Thus they occupied the higher ground and easily repulsed the Macedonians thanks to their possession of the superior position. Although the Greek cavalry had gained the advantage, as soon as the horsemen learned of the withdrawal of the infantry, they at once retired toward them. Then, after such a combat as I have described, the battle was broken off, as the scales of victory swung in favour of the Macedonians. More than five hundred of the Greeks

Ἑλλήνων πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων ἑκατὸν καὶ τριάκοντα.

6 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ Μένων μὲν καὶ Ἀντίφιλος οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμόνες συνεδρεύσαντες ἐβουλεύσαντο πότερον ἀναμείναντες τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων συμμάχους καὶ καταστάντες ἀξιόμαχοι περὶ τῶν ὅλων διακρίνωνται[1] ἢ τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ συνείξαντες πρεσβεύωνται περὶ διαλύσεως. ἔδοξεν οὖν ἀποστέλλειν κήρυκας περὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου καταλύ-
7 σεως. πραξάντων δ' αὐτῶν τὸ δόξαν ἀπεκρίθησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον κατὰ πόλεις πρεσβεύειν· οὐδενὶ γὰρ τρόπῳ κοινὴν σύλλυσιν ποιήσεσθαι. τῶν δὲ Ἑλλήνων οὐ προσδεχομένων τὰς κατὰ πόλιν διαλύσεις οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρατερὸν ἐπολιόρκουν τὰς περὶ Θετταλίαν[2] πόλεις καὶ κατὰ κράτος ᾕρουν, μὴ δυναμένων τῶν Ἑλλήνων βοηθεῖν. διὸ καὶ τῶν πόλεων περιφόβων οὐσῶν καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάστης πρεσβευούσης περὶ διαλύσεως πάσαις συγχωρῶν τὴν εἰρήνην ἐπιεικῶς
8 προσεφέρετο. διόπερ ἐμπεσούσης ὁρμῆς εἰς τὰς πόλεις ἰδίᾳ πορίζεσθαι τὴν σωτηρίαν ταχὺ πᾶσαι τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχον. οἱ δ' ἀλλοτριώτατα διακείμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας Αἰτωλοὶ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, συμμάχων ὄντες ἔρημοι, μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων στρατηγῶν ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τοῦ πολέμου.

18. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ διὰ ταύτης τῆς στρατηγίας διαλύσας τὸ σύστημα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἤγαγε τὴν δύναμιν πᾶσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐρημωθεὶς τῆς τῶν συμμάχων βοηθείας ἐν ἀπορίᾳ πολλῇ καθειστήκει· πάντων δὲ καταφερομένων ἐπὶ

[1] διακρίνωνται Wesseling: διακρίνονται.

were killed in the battle, and one hundred and thirty of the Macedonians.[1] 322 B.C.

On the next day Menon and Antiphilus, the leaders of the Greeks, came together and took counsel whether they should wait for the allies from the cities and then, when they were in position to fight on equal terms, seek a final decision, or, yielding to the present situation, should send envoys to seek a truce. They decided to dispatch heralds to treat for peace. These carried out their orders, but Antipater answered that the cities must negotiate separately, for he would by no means make a mass settlement. Since the Greeks refused to agree to peace terms city by city, Antipater and Craterus began to lay siege to the cities in Thessaly and to take them by storm, since the Greeks could not send aid to them. When the cities were thus badly frightened and each on its own account began to send envoys about a settlement, Antipater came to terms with all of them, granting them peace on easy terms. This resulted in a movement among the cities to secure their safety separately, and all quickly obtained terms of peace; but those who were most hostile to the Macedonians, the Aetolians and the Athenians, deserted by their allies, took counsel about the war with their own generals.

18. Antipater, after he had destroyed the alliance of the Greeks by this device, led all his forces against the Athenians. The people, bereft of the aid of their allies, were in great perplexity. All turned to

[1] Dinsmoor (*Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 329) places the Battle of Crannon on September 5, 322 B.C.

[2] περὶ Θετταλίαν Dindorf, ἐπὶ Θετταλίας Fischer: ἐπὶ Θετταλίαν.

τὸν Δημάδην καὶ βοώντων τοῦτον ἐκπέμπειν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰρήνης, οὗτος
2 μὲν καλούμενος σύμβουλος οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν· ἦν γὰρ τρὶς ἡλωκὼς παρανόμων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο γεγονὼς ἄτιμος καὶ κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων συμβουλεύειν· ἀπολαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἐπιτιμίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου παραχρῆμα ἐξεπέμφθη πρεσβευτὴς μετὰ Φωκίωνος
3 καί τινων ἑτέρων. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιπάτρου διακούσαντος τῶν λόγων καὶ δόντος ἀπόκρισιν ὡς ἄλλως οὐ μὴ συλλύσηται τὸν πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πόλεμον, ἐὰν μὴ τὰ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἐπιτρέψωσιν αὐτῷ (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνους συγκλείσαντας εἰς Λαμίαν τὸν Ἀντίπατρον τὰς αὐτὰς ἀποκρίσεις πεποιῆσθαι πρεσβεύσαντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης) ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ὢν ἀξιόμαχος ἠναγκάσθη τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν Ἀντιπάτρῳ δοῦναι περὶ τῆς πόλεως.
4 ὁ δὲ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς προσενεχθεὶς συνεχώρησεν ἔχειν τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὰς κτήσεις καὶ τἄλλα πάντα· τὴν δὲ πολιτείαν μετέστησεν ἐκ τῆς δημοκρατίας καὶ προσέταξεν ἀπὸ τιμήσεως εἶναι τὸ πολίτευμα καὶ τοὺς μὲν κεκτημένους πλείω δραχμῶν δισχιλίων κυρίους εἶναι τοῦ πολιτεύματος καὶ τῆς χειροτονίας, τοὺς δὲ κατωτέρω τῆς τιμήσεως ἅπαντας ὡς ταραχώδεις ὄντας καὶ πολεμικοὺς ἀπήλασε τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τοῖς βουλομένοις χώραν
5 ἔδωκεν εἰς κατοίκησιν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ὄντες πλείους τῶν μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων[1] μετεστάθησαν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος, οἱ δὲ τὴν ὡρισμένην τίμησιν ἔχοντες περὶ ἐννακισχιλίους ἀπεδείχθησαν κύριοι

[1] *μυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων* Wesseling, *μυρίων καὶ χιλίων* Bergk: *δισμυρίων καὶ δισχιλίων*. See Plutarch, *Phocion*, 28. 4.

Demades and shouted that he must be sent as envoy 322 B.C.
to Antipater to sue for peace; but, although he was called on by name to give advice, he did not respond. He had been convicted three times[1] of introducing illegal decrees, and for this reason he had been deprived of his rights as a citizen and was prevented by the laws from advising; yet, on being restored to full rights by the people, he was at once sent as envoy along with Phocion and some others. When Antipater had heard what they had to say, he made answer that he would end the war against the Athenians on no other condition than that they surrender all their interests to his discretion; for, after they had shut Antipater up in Lamia, they had made that same reply to him when he had sent envoys about peace. The people, not being in position to fight, were forced to grant to Antipater such discretion and complete authority over the city. He dealt humanely with them and permitted them to retain their city and their possessions and everything else; but he changed the government from a democracy, ordering that political power should depend on a census of wealth, and that those possessing more than two thousand drachmas should be in control of the government and of the elections. He removed from the body of citizens all who possessed less than this amount on the ground that they were disturbers of the peace and warmongers, offering to those who wished it a place for settlement in Thrace. These men, more than twelve thousand in number, were removed from their fatherland; but those who possessed the stated rating, being about nine thousand,

[1] The number of convictions is given as seven by Plutarch (*Phocion*, 26. 2) and as two by Suidas (*s.v.* Demades).

τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ χώρας καὶ κατὰ τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἐπολιτεύοντο· πάντες δὲ τὰς οὐσίας εἰάθησαν ἔχειν ἀναφαιρέτους. φρούραρχον δὲ Μένυλλον καὶ φρουρὰν ἠναγκάσθησαν δέξασθαι τὴν οὐκ ἐπιτρέ-
6 ψουσαν οὐδενὶ νεωτερίζειν. περὶ δὲ τῆς Σάμου τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐπὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐποιήσαντο. Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν οὖν παρ' ἐλπίδα φιλανθρωπευθέντες ἔτυχον τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀταράχως πολιτευόμενοι καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι ταχὺ ταῖς οὐσίαις προσανέδραμον.

7 Ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν μὲν Κρατερὸν ταῖς ἁρμοζούσαις τιμαῖς τε καὶ δωρεαῖς ἐκόσμησε καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων μίαν συνοικίσας αὐτῷ τὴν πρεσβυτάτην Φίλαν τὴν εἰς
8 τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπάνοδον συγκατεσκεύασεν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις Ἑλληνίσι πόλεσιν ἐπιεικῶς προσενεχθεὶς καὶ τὰ πολιτεύματα συναγαγὼν καὶ καλῶς[1] καταστήσας ἐπαίνων καὶ στεφάνων ἔτυχεν.
9 ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας ἀποκαταστήσας τοῖς Σαμίοις τήν τε πόλιν καὶ χώραν κατήγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, πεφευγότας ἔτη τρισὶ πλείω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

19. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον ἐπιτελεσθείσας πράξεις διήλθομεν, μεταβησόμεθα πρὸς τὸν ἐν τῇ Κυρήνῃ γενόμενον πόλεμον, ἵνα μὴ μακρὰν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀποπλανῶμεν τὸ συνεχὲς τῆς ἱστορίας. ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἐστὶ βραχὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προσαναδραμεῖν, ὅπως σαφεστέρας

[1] καὶ καλῶς Fischer: καλῶς καί.

were designated as masters of both city and territory and conducted the government according to the constitution of Solon. All were permitted to keep their property uncurtailed. They were, however, forced to receive a garrison with Menyllus as its commander, its purpose being to prevent anyone from undertaking changes in the government. The decision in regard to Samos was referred to the kings. The Athenians, being thus humanely treated beyond their hopes, secured peace; and, since henceforth they conducted their public affairs without disturbance and enjoyed the produce of the land unmolested, they quickly made great progress in wealth. 322 B.C.

When Antipater had returned to Macedonia, he presented Craterus with suitable honours and gifts, giving him also his eldest daughter Phila in marriage, and helped him to prepare for his return to Asia. He likewise showed moderation in dealing with the other Greek cities, both reducing their citizen bodies and wisely reforming them, for which he received eulogies and crowns. Perdiccas, restoring their city and territory to the Samians, brought them back to their fatherland after they had been exiles for forty-three years.[1]

19. Now that we have narrated all the actions in the course of the Lamian War, we shall turn to the war that took place in Cyrenê, so that the course of our history may not deviate too much from the chronological sequence. But it is necessary to go back a little in time in order to make clearer the

[1] Samos had been captured by the Athenian general Timotheüs in 366/5 (*IG*, 2. 699. 20; Nepos, *Timotheüs*, 1; Demosthenes, *For the Rhodians*, 9; cp. Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 3. 2. 245 f.). Diodorus returns to Greek affairs in chap. 24.

2 ποιήσωμεν τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις. Ἁρπάλου
γὰρ τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας δρασμὸν ποιησαμένου καὶ
καταπλεύσαντος εἰς Κρήτην μετὰ τῶν μισθοφόρων,
καθάπερ ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βύβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν,
Θίβρων, εἷς τῶν φίλων νομιζόμενος,[1] δολοφονήσας
τὸν Ἅρπαλον κύριος ἐγένετο τῶν τε χρημάτων καὶ
3 τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ὄντων ἑπτακισχιλίων. ὁμοίως
δὲ καὶ τῶν νεῶν ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος καὶ τοὺς
στρατιώτας εἰς ταύτας θέμενος κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὴν
χώραν τῶν Κυρηναίων. ἀνειληφὼς δὲ μεθ' αὑτοῦ[2]
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Κυρήνης φυγάδας καὶ τούτους ἔχων
καθηγουμένους τῆς ἐπιβολῆς[3] διὰ τὴν τῶν τό-
πων ἐμπειρίαν, ἀπαντησάντων τῶν Κυρηναίων καὶ
μάχης γενομένης ὁ Θίβρων νικήσας πολλοὺς μὲν
4 ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐζώγρησε. κυριεύσας
δὲ τοῦ λιμένος καὶ πολιορκήσας καὶ καταπληξά-
μενος τοὺς Κυρηναίους ἠνάγκασεν ὁμολογίας ποιή-
σασθαι ὥστε αὐτοὺς δοῦναι ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
πεντακόσια, τῶν δὲ ἁρμάτων τὰ ἡμίση πρὸς τὰς
5 στρατείας συνεκπέμπειν. διεπρεσβεύσατο δὲ καὶ
πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, ἀξιῶν συμμαχεῖν ὡς
μέλλοντος αὐτοῦ τὴν πλησιόχωρον Λιβύην κατα-
στρέφεσθαι. διήρπασε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τὰ
καταληφθέντα χρήματα ἐν τῷ λιμένι καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις εἰς διαρπαγὴν ἔδωκεν, ἐκκαλούμενος
αὐτῶν τὰς προθυμίας εἰς τὸν πόλεμον.

[1] Hertlein reads ὀνομαζόμενος for νομιζόμενος.
[2] μεθ' αὑτοῦ Dindorf: μετ' αὐτοῦ.
[3] ἐπιβολῆς Wesseling and Dindorf: ἐπιβουλῆς MSS., Fischer.

[1] The battle of Crannon probably took place in September,

several series of events.[1] When Harpalus had fled from Asia and sailed to Crete with the mercenaries, as we have shown in the preceding Book,[2] Thibron, who was regarded as one of his friends, treacherously murdered him and gained control of the money and the soldiers, who numbered seven thousand.[3] He also took possession of the ships, embarked the soldiers on them, and sailed to the land of the Cyrenians. He had taken with him the exiles from Cyrenê and was using them as instructors in his project because of their knowledge of the locality. When the Cyrenians opposed him and a battle took place, Thibron was victorious, killing many and taking captive no small number. By gaining control of the harbour and besieging and frightening the Cyrenians, he forced them to come to terms, and to agree to give him five hundred talents of silver and to contribute half of their chariots to aid his campaign. He sent envoys, moreover, to the other cities, asking them to make an alliance on the ground that he was going to subdue the neighbouring parts of Libya. He also treated as spoil the property of the traders that had been captured in the port and gave it to his soldiers as plunder, calling forth their zeal for the war. 322 B.C.

322 (Plutarch, *Camillus*, 19; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age*, 329), but the settlement of Athens may not have been completed for several years (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 458 ff.).

[2] Cp. Book 17. 108. 4-8.

[3] According to Pausanias (2. 33. 4), Harpalus was murdered either by his slaves or by a Macedonian named Pausanias. For other accounts of Thibron's campaign against Cyrenê and his final defeat by Ptolemy cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 16-19; Justin, 13. 6. 18; *Marmor Parium* for 322/1. In Book 17. 108. 6 and in Arrian the number of mercenaries is given as six thousand.

20. Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων τῷ Θίβρωνι προχωρούντων ἡ τύχη ταχὺ μεταβαλοῦσα ἐταπείνωσεν αὐτὸν διὰ τοιαύτας αἰτίας. τῶν ἡγεμόνων τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ τις Κρὴς μὲν τὸ γένος, ὄνομα δὲ Μνασικλῆς, ἐμπειρίαν δ' ἔχων τῶν πολεμικῶν πράξεων διηνέχθη πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐγκαλέσας μὲν[1] περὶ τοῦ μερισμοῦ τῶν λαφύρων, καὶ φύσει ταραχώδης ὢν καὶ θρασὺς ηὐτομόλησε πρὸς τοὺς Κυρηναίους.
2 κατηγορήσας δὲ πολλὰ τοῦ Θίβρωνος εἰς ὠμότητα καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἔπεισε λῦσαι τὰς ὁμολογίας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντέχεσθαι. διὸ καὶ ταλάντων ἑξήκοντα μόνον[2] ἀποδεδομένων, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν χρημάτων οὐ διδομένων ὁ μὲν Θίβρων ἐγκαλέσας τοῖς ἀφεστηκόσι συνέλαβε τῶν Κυρηναίων τοὺς παρόντας ἐν τῷ λιμένι, ὄντας περὶ ὀγδοήκοντα, εὐθὺ δὲ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπαγαγὼν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐπολιόρκει τὴν Κυρήνην· οὐδὲν δὲ δυνάμενος πρᾶξαι πάλιν πρὸς τὸν λιμένα
3 ἐπανῆλθε. τῶν δὲ Βαρκαίων καὶ τῶν Ἑσπεριτῶν συμμαχούντων τῷ Θίβρωνι Κυρηναῖοι μέρος μὲν τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέλιπον ἐν τῇ Κυρήνῃ, τῷ[3] μέρει δὲ στρατεύσαντες ἐπόρθουν τὴν τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων
4 χώραν. τούτων δ' ἐπικαλεσαμένων βοηθεῖν τὸν Θίβρωνα ἅπαντας τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐξήγαγεν[4] ἐπὶ τὴν συμμαχίαν. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον ὁ Κρὴς συλλογισάμενος τὴν ἐρημίαν τοῦ λιμένος ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ καταλειφθέντας ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ λιμένι.
5 ὑπακουσάντων δ' εὐθὺς αὐτὸς καθηγούμενος ἐπέθετο τῷ λιμένι καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τοῦ Θίβρω-

[1] μὲν deleted by Bekker, Dindorf, Fischer.
[2] μόνον Fischer : μόνων.
[3] Fischer brackets τῷ.
[4] ἐξήγαγεν Rhodoman : ἐξήγαγον.

[1] Also called Hesperides, Euhesperides, and Berenicê (modern Benghazi), the westernmost city of Cyrenê. Barca lies a short distance north-east.

20. Although the affairs of Thibron were thus prospering, Fortune by a sudden shift humbled him through the following circumstances. One of his leaders, a Cretan by birth, whose name was Mnasicles, a man of experience in warfare, quarrelled with him, having complained about the distribution of the booty; and being contentious by nature and bold, he deserted to the Cyrenians. Moreover, he made many complaints against Thibron, charging him with cruelty and faithlessness, and persuaded the Cyrenians to break the treaty and make a bid for liberty. And so when sixty talents only had been paid, and the rest of the money was not being given, Thibron denounced the rebels, seized any Cyrenians who were in the port, some eighty in number, and then, leading his forces directly against the city, laid siege to it. As he was unable to accomplish anything, he returned to the port. Since the people of Barca and of Hesperis[1] were allied with Thibron, the Cyrenians, leaving part of their forces in Cyrenê, took the field with part and plundered the land of their neighbours. When these called on Thibron to give them aid, he led all his soldiers against the alliance.[2] At this the Cretan, concluding that the harbour was deserted, persuaded those who were left in Cyrenê to attack it. When they obeyed him, he at once made an attack on the port, leading the way himself; and, easily gaining control of it thanks to the absence of Thibron, 322 B.C.

[2] *i.e.* against the Cyrenians and their Libyan and Carthaginian allies, who are not mentioned until chap. 21. 4.

νος ῥᾳδίως ἐγκρατὴς γενόμενος τὰ περιλειπόμενα τῶν φορτίων ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς ἐμπόροις καὶ τὸν λιμένα φιλοτίμως ἐτήρει.

6 Ὁ δὲ Θίβρων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀθύμως εἶχεν, ἀπολωλεκὼς τόπον ἐπίκαιρον καὶ τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀποσκευάς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θαρσήσας καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ταύχειρα ἐκπολιορκήσας ἀνέδραμε ταῖς ἐλπίσι. μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν συνέβη περιπεσεῖν μεγάλοις ἐλαττώμασιν.
7 οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες τοῦ λιμένος ἐστερημένοι, τροφῆς δὲ ἀποροῦντες εἰώθεισαν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν ἐξιέναι καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ἐκ ταύτης πορίζεσθαι. οἱ δὲ Λίβυες ἐνεδρεύσαντες αὐτοὺς πλανωμένους κατὰ τὴν χώραν πολλοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐζώγρησαν· οἱ δὲ περιλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ κινδύνου καταφυγόντες εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἀπέπλεον εἰς τὰς συμμαχίδας πόλεις. ἐπιγενομένου δὲ μεγάλου πνεύματος αἱ πλεῖσται μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς θαλάσσης κατεπόθησαν,[1] τῶν δ' ἄλλων αἱ μὲν εἰς Κύπρον, αἱ δ' εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπερρίφησαν.

21. Ὁ δὲ Θίβρων τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ περιπεσὼν ὅμως ἀντείχετο τοῦ πολέμου, προχειρισάμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς εὐθέτους ἔπεμψεν εἰς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἀναληψομένους τῶν ξένων τοὺς ἐνδιατρίβοντας περὶ[2] Ταίναρον. ἔτι γὰρ τῶν ἀμίσθων[3] γενομένων πολλοὶ διεπλανῶντο ζητοῦντες τοὺς μισθοδοτήσοντας καὶ τότε περὶ Ταίναρον ὑπῆρχον πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων καὶ πεντακοσίων.
2 τούτους δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀνέλαβον, τὸν δὲ εἰς

[1] κατεπόθησαν Wesseling: κατεποντήθησαν R, κατεποντίσθησαν XF.
[2] περὶ Reiske: ἐπι.

he restored to the merchants what was left of the cargoes and zealously guarded the port. 322 B.C.

At first Thibron was disheartened, since he had lost an advantageous position and the equipment of his soldiers; but afterwards, when he had recovered his spirits and captured by siege the city called Tauchira, his hopes again rose. It chanced, however, that in a short time he again encountered great misfortunes. The crews of his ships, having been deprived of their harbour and running short of food, were accustomed each day to go out into the country and gather supplies there; but the Libyans ambushed them as they were wandering about the country, killed many, and took no small number captive. Those who escaped the danger fled to the ships and sailed away for the allied cities. But when a great storm overtook them, most of the ships were swallowed by the sea; of the rest, some were cast ashore in Cyprus, others in Egypt.

21. Nevertheless Thibron, although he had encountered such a misfortune, did not give up the campaign. Selecting those of his friends who were fitted for the task, he sent them to the Peloponnesus to hire those of the mercenaries who were waiting about near Taenarum; for many of the discharged mercenaries were still roaming about seeking paymasters; and at that time there were more than twenty-five hundred of them at Taenarum. His messengers engaged these and set out upon the voyage to

[3] τῶν ἀμίσθων Wesseling, τῶν ἀμισθώτων Fischer: ἀμισθώτων.

Κυρήνην πλοῦν ἐποιοῦντο. τῆς δὲ τούτων πρό-
τερον παρουσίας[1] οἱ μὲν Κυρηναῖοι θαρρήσαντες
τοῖς γεγονόσι προτερήμασι μάχην συνῆψαν καὶ
νικήσαντες τὸν Θίβρωνα πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
3 ἀπέκτειναν. διὰ δὲ τὰς ἐλαττώσεις ὁ Θίβρων
ἀπογινώσκων ἤδη τὰ κατὰ τὴν Κυρήνην παραδόξως
πάλιν ἐθάρρησε· τῶν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου στρατιω-
τῶν καταπλευσάντων καὶ μεγάλης αὐτῷ χειρὸς
4 προσγενομένης εὔελπις ἐγένετο τῇ ψυχῇ. οἱ δὲ
Κυρηναῖοι πάλιν θεωροῦντες τὸν πόλεμον αὐξό-
μενον μετεπέμψαντο τὴν συμμαχίαν παρὰ τῶν
πλησιοχώρων Λιβύων καὶ παρὰ τῶν Καρχηδονίων,
ἀθροίσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἅπαντας μετὰ τῶν πολιτικῶν
στρατιώτας τρισμυρίους ἡτοιμάζοντο παρατάξει
περὶ τῶν ὅλων διακριθῆναι. γενομένης δὲ παρα-
τάξεως μεγάλης ὁ μὲν Θίβρων νικήσας τῇ μάχῃ
καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν περιχαρὴς ἦν, ὡς αὐτίκα μάλα
5 κυριεύσων τῶν πλησίον πόλεων, οἱ δὲ Κυρηναῖοι
τῶν στρατηγῶν ἁπάντων ἀνῃρημένων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ
τὸν Κρῆτα Μνασικλῆν μεθ' ἑτέρων εἵλοντο στρατη-
γόν. Θίβρων δ' ἐπαρθεὶς τῇ νίκῃ τὸν λιμένα τῶν
Κυρηναίων ἐπολιόρκησε καὶ τῇ Κυρήνῃ καθ' ἡμέραν
6 προσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο. χρονίζοντος δὲ τοῦ πολέμου
Κυρηναῖοι μὲν σπανίζοντες τροφῆς ἐστασίασαν πρὸς
ἀλλήλους· ἐπικρατούντων δὲ τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ
τοὺς κτηματικοὺς ἐκβαλλόντων οἱ τῆς πατρίδος
στερηθέντες ἔφυγον οἱ μὲν πρὸς Θίβρωνα, οἱ δ' εἰς
7 Αἴγυπτον. οὗτοι δὲ πείσαντες τὸν Πτολεμαῖον
κατάγειν αὐτοὺς ἧκον ἄγοντες δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον
πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν καὶ στρατηγὸν Ὀφέλλαν·
ὧν τὴν παρουσίαν ἀκούσαντες οἱ παρὰ τῷ Θίβρωνι
φυγάδες, νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρήσαντες πρὸς τούτους ἀπ-

Cyrenê. But before their arrival the Cyrenians, encouraged by their successes, joined battle and defeated Thibron, killing many of his soldiers. But when, on account of these failures, Thibron was now ready to abandon the operations against Cyrenê, he unexpectedly regained courage; for as soon as the soldiers from Taenarum put into port and a large force was added to his strength, he became confident in spirit. As the Cyrenians saw the tide of war again rising, they summoned the allied forces from the neighbouring Libyans and from the Carthaginians, and having collected in all thirty thousand men including their citizen soldiers, they made ready to reach a final decision in battle. When a great battle had taken place, Thibron, having won the victory with great slaughter of the enemy, was overjoyed, believing that he would at once capture the adjacent cities; but the Cyrenians, whose commanders had all been killed in the battle, elected the Cretan Mnasicles general along with others. Thibron, elated by the victory, laid siege to the port of the Cyrenians and made daily assaults on Cyrenê. As the war continued a long time, the Cyrenians, who were in want of food, quarrelled among themselves; and the commons, gaining the upper hand, drove out the rich, who, bereft of their fatherland, fled, some to Thibron, others to Egypt. The latter, after persuading Ptolemy to restore them, returned bringing with them a considerable force, both infantry and naval, with Ophellas as general. The exiles who were with Thibron, hearing of the approach of these men and attempting to 322 B.C.

[1] τῆς δὲ τούτων πρότερον παρουσίας Fischer, πρὸ δὲ τῆς τούτων παρουσίας Rhodoman, τῇ δὲ τούτων ἀπουσίᾳ . . . θαρρήσαντες καὶ τοῖς Wesseling: τῇ δὲ τούτων παρουσίᾳ R (ἀπουσίᾳ written above by second hand) XF.

ἰέναι λάθρᾳ, φωραθέντες ἅπαντες κατεκόπησαν.
8 οἱ δὲ τῆς Κυρήνης στρατηγοῦντες δημοτικοί, φοβη-
θέντες τὴν τῶν φυγάδων κάθοδον, διελύσαντο πρὸς
τὸν Θίβρωνα καὶ κοινῇ πολεμεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ὀφέλλαν
9 παρεσκευάζοντο. Ὀφέλλας δὲ καταπολεμήσας τὸν
Θίβρωνα καὶ ζωγρήσας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν πόλεων ἐγ-
κρατὴς γενόμενος παρέδωκε τάς τε πόλεις καὶ τὴν
χώραν Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ. οἱ μὲν οὖν Κυρη-
ναῖοι καὶ αἱ περιοικοῦσαι πόλεις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
ἀποβαλοῦσαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπὸ τὴν Πτολεμαϊκὴν
βασιλείαν ἐτάχθησαν.

22. Περδίκκας δὲ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Φίλιππος κατα-
πεπολεμηκότες Ἀριαράθην καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν
αὐτοῦ Εὐμενεῖ παραδόντες ἐχωρίσθησαν ἐκ τῆς
Καππαδοκίας. καταντήσαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν Πισι-
δικὴν ἔκριναν ἀναστάτους ποιῆσαι δύο πόλεις, τήν
τε τῶν Λαρανδέων καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰσαυρέων· αὗται
γὰρ ἔτι ζῶντος Ἀλεξάνδρου Βάλακρον τὸν Νικά-
νορος ἀπέκτειναν, ἀποδεδειγμένον στρατηγὸν ἅμα
2 καὶ σατράπην. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν Λαρανδέων πόλιν
ἐξ ἐφόδου χειρωσάμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἡβῶντας κατα-
σφάξαντες τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἐξανδραποδισάμενοι
κατέσκαψαν· τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰσαυρέων, οὖσαν ὀχυρὰν
καὶ μεγάλην, ἔτι δὲ πλήθουσαν ἀλκίμων ἀνδρῶν,
ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμέρας[1] δύο πολιορκήσαντες ἐνεργῶς καὶ
3 πολλοὺς τῶν ἰδίων ἀποβαλόντες ἀνεχώρησαν· οἱ
γὰρ ἐγχώριοι βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πρὸς
πολιορκίαν ἀνηκόντων εὐποροῦντες, ἔτι δὲ ταῖς
ψυχαῖς ὑπομένοντες τὸ δεινὸν παραστατικῶς ἑτοί-
4 μως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπέθνησκον. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ

[1] ἡμέρας Hertlein : ἡμέραις MSS. followed by Fischer.

go over to them secretly at night, were detected and cut down to a man. The democratic leaders of Cyrenê, becoming alarmed at the return of the exiles, made terms with Thibron and prepared to fight against Ophellas in common with him; but Ophellas, after defeating and capturing Thibron and also gaining control of the cities, delivered both the cities and the country over to Ptolemy the king.[1] Thus the Cyrenians and the surrounding cities lost their freedom and were annexed to the kingdom of Ptolemy. 322 B.C.

22. Now when Perdiccas and King Philip had defeated Ariarathes and delivered his satrapy to Eumenes,[2] they departed from Cappadocia. And having arrived in Pisidia, they determined to lay waste two cities, that of the Larandians and that of the Isaurians; for while Alexander was still alive these cities had put to death Balacrus the son of Nicanor, who had been appointed general and satrap. Now the city of the Larandians they took by assault, and after killing the men of fighting age and enslaving the rest of the population, razed it to the ground. The city of the Isaurians, however, was strongly fortified and large and moreover was filled with stout warriors; so when they had besieged it vigorously for two days and had lost many of their own men, they withdrew; for the inhabitants, who were well provided with missiles and other things needed for withstanding a siege and were enduring the dreadful ordeal with desperate courage in their hearts, were readily giving their lives to preserve their freedom.

[1] The capture of Cyrenê is placed in 322/1 by the Parian Marble. Ptolemy had not yet become king (Book 20. 53. 3). For the later attempt of the Cyrenians to recover their freedom see Book 19. 79. 1-3.

[2] Cp. chap. 16. 3.

πολλῶν μὲν ἀνῃρημένων, τῶν δὲ τειχῶν ἐλλειπεῖς ἐχόντων τὰς φυλακὰς διὰ τὴν σπάνιν τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπετελέσαντο πρᾶξιν οἱ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἡρωικὴν καὶ μνήμης ἀξίαν. ὁρῶντες γὰρ ἀπαραίτητον οὖσαν τὴν κατ᾽ αὐτῶν[1] τιμωρίαν καὶ δύναμιν οὐκ ἔχοντες ἀξιόχρεων τὴν ἀμυνουμένην[2] τὸ μὲν ἐγχειρίσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐπιτρέψαι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκ ἔκριναν, ἐμφανοῦς οὔσης τῆς μεθ᾽ ὕβρεως τιμωρίας, νυκτὸς δ᾽ ὁμοθυμαδὸν πρὸς τὸν εὐγενῆ θάνατον ὁρμήσαντες τέκνα μὲν καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ γονεῖς εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἐγκλείσαντες ἐνέπρησαν, κοινὸν θάνατον καὶ τάφον διὰ τοῦ πυρὸς ἑλόμενοι.
5 τῆς δὲ φλογὸς ἄφνω πρὸς ὕψος αἰρομένης οἱ μὲν Ἰσαυρεῖς τὰ κτήματα καὶ πάντα τὰ δυνάμενα τοῖς κρατοῦσιν ὠφελείας παρέχεσθαι τῷ πυρὶ παρέβαλον, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν θαυμάσαντες τὸ γινόμενον[3] περιέστησαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ κατὰ πάντα τόπον ἐβιάζοντο παρεισπεσεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν.
6 τῶν δ᾽ ἐγχωρίων ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν ἀμυνομένων καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων καταβαλλόντων ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Περδίκκας καταπληττόμενος ἐζήτει τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἣν οἱ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα τῷ πυρὶ παραδεδωκότες φιλοτίμως τὰ τείχη φυλάτ-
7 τουσι. τέλος δὲ τοῦ Περδίκκου καὶ τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀποχωρησάντων οἱ Ἰσαυρεῖς εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἑαυτοὺς ῥίψαντες ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις συν-
8 ετάφησαν τοῖς οἰκείοις. Περδίκκας δὲ νυκτὸς[4] διελθούσης ἔδωκε τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν πόλιν εἰς διαρπαγήν. οὗτοι δὲ τὴν φλόγα κατασβέσαντες

[1] Dindorf reads καθ᾽ αὐτῶν.
[2] ἀμυνουμένην Dindorf: ἀμυνομένην MSS., followed by Fischer.

On the third day, when many had been slain and the walls had few defenders because of the lack of men, the citizens performed a heroic and memorable deed. Seeing that the punishment that hung over them could not be averted, and not having a force that would be adequate to stave the enemy off, they determined not to surrender the city and place their fate in the hands of the enemy, since in that way their punishment combined with outrage was certain; but at night all with one accord, seeking the noble kind of death, shut up their children, wives, and parents in their houses, and set the houses on fire, choosing by means of the fire a common death and burial. As the blaze suddenly flared aloft, the Isaurians cast into the fire their goods and everything that could be of use to the victors; Perdiccas and his officers, astounded at what was taking place, stationed their troops about the city and made a strong effort to break into the city on all sides. When now the inhabitants defended themselves from the walls and struck down many of the Macedonians, Perdiccas was even more astonished and sought the reason why men who had given their homes and all else to the flames should be so intent upon defending the walls. Finally Perdiccas and the Macedonians withdrew from the city, and the Isaurians, throwing themselves into the fire, found burial in their homes along with their families.[1] When the night was over, Perdiccas gave the city to his soldiers for booty. They, when they had put out the fire, found an abundance of 322 B.C.

[1] Justin (13. 6. 1-3) tells much the same tale but in connection with Perdiccas' war against Ariarathes.

[3] γινόμενον Hertlein: γενόμενον.
[4] Dindorf adds τῆς before νυκτός.

πολὺν ἄργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν εὗρον, ὡς ἂν πόλεως γεγενημένης εὐδαίμονος ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων.

23. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῶν πόλεων[1] ἧκον δύο γυναῖκες εἰς συνοικισμὸν τῷ Περδίκκᾳ, Νίκαιά τε ἡ Ἀντιπάτρου θυγάτηρ, ἣν αὐτὸς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦν μεμνηστευκώς, καὶ Κλεοπάτρα ἡ Ἀλεξάνδρου μὲν ἀδελφὴ γνησία, θυγάτηρ δὲ Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου.

2 ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας πρότερον μὲν ἦν κεκρικὼς κοινοπραγίαν Ἀντιπάτρῳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μνηστείαν ἐπεποίητο μήπω τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν πραγμάτων βεβαίως ἐστερεωμένων· ὡς δὲ παρέλαβε τάς τε βασιλικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ τὴν τῶν βασιλέων προστασίαν,

3 μετέπεσε τοῖς λογισμοῖς. ὀρεγόμενος γὰρ βασιλείας ἔσπευδε τὴν Κλεοπάτραν γῆμαι, νομίζων διὰ ταύτης προτρέψεσθαι τοὺς Μακεδόνας συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐξουσίαν. οὔπω δὲ βουλόμενος ἀποκαλύψασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐπιβολὴν κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν ἦγε τὴν Νίκαιαν, ὅπως μὴ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἀλλότριον ἔχῃ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Ἀντιγόνου τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσαντος καὶ φιλίαν ἔχοντος πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ἔτι δὲ ὄντος τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τούτου πρακτικωτάτου τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἔκρινεν αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν ποιήσασθαι.

4 ἐπιβαλὼν οὖν αὐτῷ διαβολὰς ψευδεῖς καὶ κατηγορίας ἀδίκους φανερὸς ἦν ἀναιρήσων αὐτόν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ διαφέρων φανερῶς μὲν ἀπεφαίνετο βούλεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων ἀπολογήσασθαι, λάθρᾳ δὲ παρασκευασάμενος τὰ πρὸς τὸν δρασμὸν ἔλαθε μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων φίλων καὶ

[1] πόλεων Wesseling : πολεμίων.

[1] For these and other intrigues, and for the flight of Antigonus to Macedonia, cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 20-24, 26; Justin, 13. 6. 4-8. The flight cannot be dated before the winter of 322/1.

silver and gold, as was natural in a city that had been prosperous for a great many years. 322 B.C.

23. After the destruction of the cities there came two women to marry Perdiccas,[1] Nicaea, the daughter of Antipater, for whose hand Perdiccas himself had sued, and Cleopatra, who was Alexander's own sister, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas. Perdiccas had formerly planned to work in harmony with Antipater, and for this reason he had pressed his suit when his position was not yet firmly established; but when he had gained control of the royal armies and the guardianship of the kings, he changed his calculations. For since he was now reaching out for the kingship, he was bent upon marrying Cleopatra, believing that he could use her to persuade the Macedonians to help him gain the supreme power. But not wishing as yet to reveal his design, he married Nicaea for the time, so that he might not render Antipater hostile to his own undertakings. Presently, however, Antigonus learned his intentions, and since Antigonus was a friend of Antipater and, moreover, the most energetic of the commanders, Perdiccas decided to put him out of the way. So, by bringing false slanders and unjust charges against him, he clearly revealed his intention of destroying him. Antigonus, however, who excelled in keenness and daring, outwardly let it be known that he wished to defend himself against these charges, but secretly he made arrangements for flight and, with his personal friends

τοῦ υἱοῦ Δημητρίου νυκτὸς εἰσβὰς εἰς τὰς Ἀττικὰς ναῦς. ἐν δὲ ταύταις κομισθεὶς εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην προῆγε συμμίξων Ἀντιπάτρῳ.

24. Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Κρατερὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐστράτευσαν, ἔχοντες πεζοὺς μὲν τρισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους· οὗτοι γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῷ Λαμιακῷ πολέμῳ διαπολεμησάντων ὑπόλοιποι δι-
2 έμενον ἀχείρωτοι. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ τηλικούτων δυνάμεων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὡρμημένων οὐ κατεπλάγησαν ταῖς ψυχαῖς, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν ἀκμάζοντας ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀθροίσαντες εἰς μυρίους κατέφυγον εἰς τοὺς ὀρεινοὺς καὶ τραχεῖς τόπους, εἰς οὓς τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς γεγηρακότας καὶ τὸ τῶν χρημάτων πλῆθος ἀπέθεντο, καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀνωχύρους πόλεις ἐξέλιπον, τὰς δὲ ὀχυρότητι διαφερούσας φρουραῖς ἀξιολόγοις διαλαβόντες εὐτόλμως ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον.

25. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρατερὸν εἰσβαλόντες εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καὶ τὰς εὐχειρώτους πόλεις ὁρῶντες ἐρήμους ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνακεχωρηκότας εἰς τὰς δυσχωρίας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον οἱ Μακεδόνες πρὸς τόπους ὀχυροὺς καὶ τραχεῖς βιαζόμενοι πολλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπέβαλον· ἡ γὰρ τόλμα τῶν Αἰτωλῶν προσλαβοῦσα τὴν ἐν τοῖς τόποις ὀχυρότητα ῥᾳδίως ἠμύνετο τοὺς διὰ τὴν προπέτειαν εἰς ἀβοηθήτους κινδύνους προπίπτοντας[1]· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν περὶ Κρατερὸν στεγνὰ κατασκευασάντων καὶ συναναγκαζόντων τοὺς πολεμίους μένειν τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ διακαρτερεῖν ἐν

[1] προπίπτοντας Dindorf: προσπίπτοντας.

and his son Demetrius, boarded the Athenian ships 322 B.C.
undetected at night. And having been brought to Europe in these, he travelled on to join forces with Antipater.

24. At this time Antipater and Craterus had taken the field against the Aetolians with thirty thousand infantry and twenty-five hundred cavalry; for of those who had taken part in the Lamian War, the Aetolians alone were left unconquered.[1] Although such great forces were sent against them, they were in no panic-stricken mood, but gathering together all who were in the full vigour of manhood to the number of ten thousand, they retired to the mountainous and rough places, in which they placed the children, the women, and the old, together with the greater part of their wealth. The cities that could not be defended they abandoned, but those that were particularly strong they secured, each with a considerable garrison, and boldly awaited the approach of the enemy.

25. Antipater and Craterus, coming into Aetolia and finding that the cities which were easy to capture were deserted, moved against the men who had withdrawn into the difficult regions. At first, then, the Macedonians, violently attacking positions that were strongly fortified and in broken terrain, lost many of their soldiers; for the hardihood of the Aetolians joined with the strength of their positions easily turned back men who rushed headlong into dangers beyond reach of succour. Afterward, however, when Craterus had built shelters and was forcing the enemy to stay through the winter and to hold out in regions

[1] Cp. chap. 18. 8. This campaign, since it follows the battle of Crannon (September, 322), belongs to the archon-year 322/1.

τόποις χιονοβολουμένοις καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεέσιν[1] εἰς
2 τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἦλθον κινδύνους· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν
ἢ καταβάντας ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς
δυνάμεις πολλαπλασίους καὶ στρατηγοὺς ἐπιφανεῖς
ἢ μένοντας ὑπ' ἐνδείας καὶ κρυμοῦ διαφθαρῆναι.
ἤδη δ' αὐτῶν ἀπογινωσκόντων τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτό-
ματός τις λύσις τῶν κακῶν ἐφάνη, καθάπερ θεῶν
3 τινος ἐλεοῦντος αὐτῶν τὴν εὐψυχίαν. Ἀντίγονος
γὰρ ὁ πεφευγὼς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας συμμίξας τοῖς περὶ
τὸν Ἀντίπατρον ἐδίδαξεν αὐτοὺς περὶ τῆς ὅλης
ἐπιβουλῆς τοῦ Περδίκκου καὶ διότι τὴν Κλεοπά-
τραν γαμήσας εὐθὺς ἥξει μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς
Μακεδονίαν ὡς βασιλεὺς καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐ-
4 τῶν παραιρήσεται. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κρατερὸν καὶ
Ἀντίπατρον διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τῆς προσαγγελίας
καταπλαγέντες συνήδρευσαν μετὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων.
προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς περὶ τούτων ἔδοξεν ὁμο-
γνωμόνως πρὸς μὲν Αἰτωλοὺς ἐφ' οἷς ἦν δυνατὸν
διαλυθῆναι, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις κατὰ τάχος περαιοῦν
εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τῷ μὲν Κρατερῷ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας
ἡγεμονίαν περιτιθέναι, τῷ δ' Ἀντιπάτρῳ τὴν τῆς
Εὐρώπης, πρεσβεύειν δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον περὶ
κοινοπραγίας, ὄντα τοῦ μὲν Περδίκκου παντελῶς
ἀλλότριον, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ φίλον, κοινῇ δὲ ἐπιβουλευό-
5 μενον. εὐθὺς οὖν πρὸς μὲν Αἰτωλοὺς διάλυσιν
ἐποιήσαντο, διεγνωκότες ὕστερον αὐτοὺς κατα-
πολεμῆσαι καὶ μεταστῆσαι πανοικίους ἅπαντας εἰς
τὴν ἐρημίαν[2] καὶ πορρωτάτω τῆς Ἀσίας κειμένην
χώραν, αὐτοὶ δὲ δόγμα γράψαντες ἀκόλουθον
τοῖς προειρημένοις παρεσκευάζοντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν
στρατείαν.

[1] So Madvig: ἐν τοῖς χιονοβολουμένοις καὶ τροφῆς ἐνδεεῖς.

that were covered with snow and lacking in food, the Aetolians were brought into the greatest dangers[1]; for they had either to come down from their mountains and fight against forces numbering many times their own and against famous generals, or to remain and be utterly destroyed by want and cold. When they were already giving up hope of salvation, relief from their troubles appeared of its own accord, just as if one of the gods had been moved to pity by their high courage. For Antigonus, he who had fled from Asia, joined Antipater and told him the whole plot of Perdiccas, and that Perdiccas, after marrying Cleopatra, would come at once with his army to Macedonia as king and deprive Antipater of the supreme command. Craterus and Antipater, dumbfounded by the unexpected news, met in council with their commanders. When the situation had been presented for deliberation, it was unanimously decided to make peace with the Aetolians on whatever terms were possible, to transport the armies with all speed to Asia, to assign the command of Asia to Craterus and that of Europe to Antipater, and also to send an embassy to Ptolemy to discuss concerted action, since he was utterly hostile to Perdiccas but friendly to them, and he in common with them was an object of the plot. Therefore they at once made a treaty with the Aetolians, firmly resolved to conquer them later and to move them all—men, women, and children—to the most distant desert of Asia. When they had recorded a decree embodying these plans, they made preparations for the campaign. 322 B.C.

[1] The winter of 322/1.

[2] Madvig suggests εἴς τινα ἐρήμην, and other editors have proposed οἰκείας or Αἰτωλίας for Ἀσίας.

6 Περδίκκας δὲ τούς τε φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας ἀθροίσας προέθηκε βουλὴν πότερον ἐπὶ τὴν Μακεδονίαν χρὴ στρατεύειν ἢ πρότερον ἐπὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ὁρμῆσαι. πάντων δ' ἐπενεχθέντων ἐπὶ τὸ πρότερον καταπολεμῆσαι τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἔχωσι τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ὁρμῆς, Εὐμενῆ μὲν ἐξέπεμψε μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀξιολόγου, προστάξας ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τόποις καὶ τὴν διάβασιν κωλύειν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν[1] ἐκ τῆς Πισιδικῆς τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐποιεῖτο.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

26. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Φιλοκλέους ἐν Ῥώμῃ κατεστάθησαν ὕπατοι Γάιος Σολπίκιος καὶ Γάιος Αἴλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀρριδαῖος ὁ κατασταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὴν κατακομιδὴν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου σώματος, συντετελεκὼς τὴν ἁρμάμαξαν ἐφ' ἧς ἔδει κατακομισθῆναι τὸ βασιλικὸν σῶμα, παρεσκευά-
2 ζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν κομιδήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ κατασκευασθὲν ἔργον, ἄξιον[2] ὑπάρχον τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης, οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὴν δαπάνην διήνεγκε τῶν ἄλλων, ὡς ἀπὸ πολλῶν ταλάντων κατασκευασθέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν τέχνην περιττότητι περιβόητον ὑπῆρξε, καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀναγράψαι περὶ αὐτοῦ.

[1] τὴν δύναμιν added by Fischer.
[2] ἄξιον Dindorf: ἀξιόλογον.

[1] Cp. chaps. 29-32 for the campaign of Eumenes, and chaps. 33-37 for that of Perdiccas.
[2] Philocles was archon in 322/1. Livy (8. 37. 1-3) calls these consuls C. Sulpicius Longus and Q. Aemilius Cerre-

Perdiccas, gathering his friends and generals, 322 B.C.
referred to them for consideration the question whether it was better to march against Macedonia or first to take the field against Ptolemy. When all favoured defeating Ptolemy first in order that there might be no obstacle in the way of their Macedonian campaign, he sent Eumenes off with a considerable army, ordering him to watch over the region of the Hellespont and prevent a crossing; and he himself, taking the army from Pisidia, proceeded against Egypt.[1]

Such, then, were the events of this year.

26. When Philocles was archon in Athens, Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Aelius were elected consuls in Rome.[2] In this year Arrhidaeus, who had been placed in charge of bringing home the body of Alexander,[3] having completed the vehicle on which the royal body was to be carried, was making preparations for the journey. Since the structure that had been made ready, being worthy of the glory of Alexander, not only surpassed all others in cost—it had been constructed at the expense of many talents—but was also famous for the excellence of its workmanship, I believe that it is well to describe it.[4]

tanus (adding that some gave the nomen of the latter as Aulius) and assigns them to the year following the consuls mentioned in chap. 2. 1 above; but the *Fasti* insert a "dictator year" between the two sets of consuls, and the traditional chronology assigns Sulpicius and his colleague to 323 B.C. See H. Stuart Jones in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 7. 321-322.
[3] Cp. chap. 3. 5.
[4] For a discussion of this funeral car cp. Kurt F. Müller, *Der Leichenwagen Alexanders des Grossen* (Leipzig, 1905), and H. Bulle, "Der Leichenwagen Alexanders," *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 21 (1906), 53-73.

3 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ ἁρμόζον[1] τῷ σώματι κατεσκευ-
άσθη χρυσοῦν σφυρήλατον ἀγγεῖον[2] καὶ τοῦτ' ἀνὰ
μέσον ἐπλήρωσαν ἀρωμάτων τῶν ἅμα δυναμένων
τὴν εὐωδίαν καὶ τὴν διαμονὴν παρέχεσθαι τῷ σώ-
4 ματι. ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετέθειτο[3] καλυπτὴρ
χρυσοῦς, ἁρμόζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν
ἀνωτάτω περιφέρειαν. ταύτης δ' ἐπάνω περιέκειτο
φοινικὶς διαπρεπὴς χρυσοποίκιλτος, παρ' ἣν ἔθεσαν
τὰ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ὅπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικει-
οῦν τὴν ὅλην φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις
5 πράξεσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρέστησαν τὴν τοῦτο
κομιοῦσαν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἧς κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν
τὴν κορυφὴν καμάρα χρυσῆ, ἔχουσα φολίδα λιθο-
κόλλητον, ἧς ἦν τὸ μὲν πλάτος ὀκτὼ πηχῶν, τὸ
δὲ μῆκος δώδεκα, ὑπὸ δὲ τὴν ὑπωροφίαν παρ' ὅλον
τὸ ἔργον θριγκὸς[4] χρυσοῦς, τῷ σχήματι τετράγω-
νος, ἔχων τραγελάφων προτομὰς ἐκτύπους, ἐξ ὧν
ἤρτηντο κρίκοι χρυσοῖ διπάλαιστοι, δι' ὧν κατα-
κεκρέμαστο στέμμα πομπικὸν χρώμασι παντο-
6 δαποῖς διαπρεπῶς κατηνθισμένον. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν
ἄκρων ὑπῆρχε θύσανος δικτυωτὸς ἔχων εὐμεγέθεις
κώδωνας, ὥστ' ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος προσ-
πίπτειν τὸν ψόφον τοῖς ἐγγίζουσι. κατὰ δὲ τὰς
τῆς καμάρας γωνίας ἐφ' ἑκάστης ἦν πλευρᾶς Νίκη
χρυσῆ τροπαιοφόρος. τὸ δ' ἐκδεχόμενον τὴν κα-
μάραν περίστυλον χρυσοῦν ὑπῆρχεν, ἔχον Ἰωνικὰ
κιονόκρανα. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιστύλου δίκτυον ἦν
χρυσοῦν, τὸ πάχος τῇ πλοκῇ δακτυλιαῖον καὶ

[1] ἁρμόζον transposed from after σφυρήλατον by Fischer (app. crit.).

[2] ἀγγεῖον conjecturally added by Fischer (app. crit.). Other editors suggest λέκτρον, κρωσσίον, φέρετρον, ἄγγος.

[3] ἐπετέθειτο Dindorf: ἐπετίθετο.

First they prepared a coffin of the proper size for the body, made of hammered gold, and the space about the body they filled with spices such as could make the body sweet smelling and incorruptible. Upon this chest there had been placed a cover of gold, matching it to a nicety, and fitting about its upper rim. Over this was laid a magnificent purple robe embroidered with gold, beside which they placed the arms of the deceased, wishing the design of the whole to be in harmony with his accomplishments. Then they set up next to it the covered carriage that was to carry it. At the top of the carriage was built a vault of gold, eight cubits wide and twelve long, covered with overlapping scales set with precious stones.[1] Beneath the roof all along the work was a rectangular cornice of gold, from which projected heads of goat-stags in high relief.[2] Gold rings two palms broad were suspended from these, and through the rings there ran a festive garland beautifully decorated in bright colours of all kinds. At the ends there were tassels of network suspending large bells, so that any who were approaching heard the sound from a great distance. On each corner of the vault on each side was a golden figure of Victory holding a trophy. The colonnade that supported the vault was of gold with Ionic capitals. Within the colonnade was a golden net, made of cords the thick- 322 B.C.

[1] The chamber was, in round numbers, twelve by eighteen feet. For the roof of scales compare that of the Monument of Lysicrates in Athens.

[2] Or, reading θρᾶνος for θριγκός, "Beneath the roof and covering the entire chamber there was a rectangular ceiling (?) of gold, from the edges of which projected heads of goat-stags in high relief."

[4] θριγκὸς Wachsmuth, θρᾶνος Ussing: θρόνος.

πίνακας παραλλήλους ζῳοφόρους τέσσαρας ἴσους τοῖς τοίχοις ἔχον.

27. Τούτων δ' ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ἦν ἔχων ἅρμα τορευτὸν καὶ καθήμενον ἐπὶ τούτου τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον, μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοντα σκῆπτρον διαπρεπές· περὶ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα μία μὲν ὑπῆρχε θεραπεία καθωπλισμένη Μακεδόνων, ἄλλη δὲ Περσῶν μηλοφόρων καὶ πρὸ τούτων ὁπλοφόροι· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος εἶχε τοὺς ἐπακολουθοῦντας τῇ θεραπείᾳ ἐλέφαντας κεκοσμημένους πολεμικῶς, ἀναβάτας ἔχοντας ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν Ἰνδούς, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὄπισθεν Μακεδόνας καθωπλισμένους τῇ συνήθει σκευῇ· ὁ δὲ τρίτος ἱππέων εἴλας μιμουμένας τὰς ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσι συναγωγάς, ὁ δὲ τέταρτος ναῦς κεκοσμημένας πρὸς ναυμαχίαν. καὶ παρὰ μὲν τὴν εἰς τὴν καμάραν εἴσοδον ὑπῆρχον λέοντες χρυσοῖ, δεδορκότες πρὸς
2 τοὺς εἰσπορευομένους· ἀνὰ μέσον δὲ ἑκάστου τῶν κιόνων ὑπῆρχε χρυσοῦς ἄκανθος ἀνατείνων ἐκ τοῦ κάτω[1] κατ' ὀλίγον μέχρι τῶν κιονοκράνων. ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς καμάρας κατὰ μέσην τὴν κορυφὴν φοινικὶς[2] ὑπῆρχεν ὑπαίθριος, ἔχουσα χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἐλαίας εὐμεγέθη, πρὸς ὃν ὁ ἥλιος προσβάλλων τὰς ἀκτῖνας κατεσκεύαζε τὴν αὐγὴν ἀποστίλβουσαν καὶ σειομένην, ὥστ' ἐκ μακροῦ διαστήματος ὁρᾶσθαι τὴν πρόσοψιν ἀστραπῇ παραπλησίαν.

3 Ἡ δ' ὑπὸ τὴν καμάραν καθέδρα δύο εἶχεν ἄξο-

[1] *κάτω* added by Wilamowitz.
[2] Wilamowitz suggests *χοινικίς*.

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[1] The chamber resembled a peripteral Ionic temple. Architrave and frieze are not mentioned and may have been omitted. The goat-stag masks correspond to the water spouts of the temple; but, since they are found on all four

ness of a finger, which carried four long painted tablets, their ends adjoining, each equal in length to a side of the colonnade.[1] 322 B.C.

27. On the first of these tablets was a chariot ornamented with work in relief, and sitting in it was Alexander holding a very splendid sceptre in his hands. About the king were groups of armed attendants, one of Macedonians, a second of Persians of the bodyguard,[2] and armed soldiers in front of them. The second tablet showed the elephants arrayed for war who followed the bodyguard. They carried Indian mahouts in front with Macedonians fully armed in their regular equipment behind them. The third tablet showed troops of cavalry as if in formation for battle; and the fourth, ships made ready for naval combat. Beside the entrance to the chamber there were golden lions with eyes turned toward those who would enter. There was a golden acanthus stretching little by little up the centre of each column from below to the capital. Above the chamber in the middle of the top under the open sky there was a purple banner blazoned with a golden olive wreath of great size,[3] and when the sun cast upon it its rays, it sent forth such a bright and vibrant gleam that from a great distance it appeared like a flash of lightning. The body of the chariot beneath the covered

sides, we must suppose a hip roof or a cloister vault. The cella walls are lacking, but their place is taken by the gold net, which permits the sarcophagus within to be seen. The four tablets correspond in position to the Ionic frieze of the Parthenon.

[2] Literally "apple-bearers." The men of the Great King's bodyguard had golden apples in place of ferrules or spikes at the butts of their spears (Herodotus, 7. 41).

[3] Or, reading *χοινικίς*, "There was a base upon which rested a golden olive wreath."

νας, οὓς περιεδίνευον[1] τροχοὶ Περσικοὶ τέσσαρες, ὧν ὑπῆρχον αἱ μὲν πλῆμναι[2] καὶ αἱ κνημίδες κατακεχρυσωμέναι, τὸ δὲ προσπῖπτον τοῖς ἐδάφεσι μέρος σιδηροῦν. τῶν δ' ἀξόνων τὰ προέχοντα χρυσᾶ κατεσκεύαστο προτομὰς ἔχοντα λεόντων
4 σιβύνην ὀδὰξ κατεχούσας. κατὰ δὲ μέσον τὸ μῆκος εἶχον πόλον ἐνηρμοσμένον μηχανικῶς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ καμάρᾳ, ὥστε δύνασθαι διὰ τούτου τὴν καμάραν ἀσάλευτον εἶναι τοῖς σεισμοῖς κατ'[3] ἀν-
5 ωμάλους τόπους. τεσσάρων δ' ὄντων ῥυμῶν ἑκάστῳ τετραστοιχία ζευγῶν ὑπέζευκτο, τεσσάρων ἡμιόνων ἑκάστῳ ζεύγει προσδεδεμένων, ὥστε τοὺς ἅπαντας ἡμιόνους εἶναι ἑξήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρας, ἐπιλελεγμένους ταῖς τε ῥώμαις καὶ τοῖς ἀναστήμασιν. ἕκαστος δὲ τούτων ἐστεφάνωτο κεχρυσωμένῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ παρ' ἑκατέραν τῶν σιαγόνων εἶχεν ἐξηρτημένον κώδωνα χρυσοῦν, περὶ δὲ τοὺς τραχήλους χλιδῶνας λιθοκολλήτους.

28. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ἁρμάμαξα, τοιαύτην ἔχουσα τὴν κατασκευὴν καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁράσεως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς ἀπαγγελίας φαινομένη μεγαλοπρεπεστέρα, πολλοὺς ἐπεσπᾶτο θεωροὺς διὰ τὴν περιβόητον δόξαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πόλεων καθ' ἃς αἰεὶ γίνοιτο πανδημεὶ συνήντων καὶ πάλιν προέπεμπον, οὐκ ἐμπιμπλά-
2 μενοι τῆς κατὰ τὴν θεωρίαν τέρψεως. ἀκολούθως δὲ ταύτῃ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ παρηκολούθει πλῆθος ὁδοποιῶν καὶ τεχνιτῶν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραπεμπόντων.

Ἀρριδαῖος μὲν οὖν σχεδὸν ἔτη δύο καταναλώσας

[1] οὓς περιεδίνευον Dindorf: οὕσπερ ἐδίνευον.
[2] ὑπῆρχον αἱ μὲν πλῆμναι Wesseling: ὑπῆρχε τὰ μὲν πλάγια MSS., Fischer.

chamber had two axles upon which turned four 322 B.C.
Persian wheels, the naves and spokes of which were gilded, but the part that bore upon the ground was of iron. The projecting parts of the axle were made of gold in the form of lion heads, each holding a spear in its teeth. Along the middle of their length the axles had a bearing [1] ingeniously fitted to the middle of the chamber in such a way that, thanks to it, the chamber could remain undisturbed by shocks from rough places. There were four poles,[2] and to each of them were fastened four teams with four mules harnessed in each team, so that in all there were sixty-four mules, selected for their strength and size. Each of them was crowned with a gilded crown, each had a golden bell hanging by either cheek, and about their necks were collars set with precious stones.

28. In this way the carriage was constructed and ornamented, and it appeared more magnificent when seen than when described. Because of its widespread fame it drew together many spectators; for from every city into which it came the whole people went forth to meet it and again escorted it on its way out, not becoming sated with the pleasure of beholding it. To correspond to this magnificence, it was accompanied by a crowd of roadmenders and mechanics, and also by soldiers sent to escort it.

When Arrhidaeus had spent nearly two years in 321 B.C.

[1] There seems to be no satisfactory explanation of this device.

[2] The use of several poles on the same vehicle is Persian (Xenophon, *Education of Cyrus*, 6. 1. 51-52, 6. 4. 2). Bulle (pp. 71-73) suggests that the poles were placed one in front of the other.

[3] τοῖς σεισμοῖς κατ' Geer: κατὰ τοὺς σεισμοὺς καί. Fischer in app. crit. suggests κατὰ τοὺς βουνοειδεῖς καί.

περὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ἔργων ἀπεκόμισε τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς Αἴγυπτον·
3 Πτολεμαῖος δὲ τιμῶν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ἀπήντησε μετὰ δυνάμεως μέχρι τῆς Συρίας καὶ παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα τῆς μεγίστης φροντίδος ἠξίωσεν. ἔκρινε γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰς μὲν Ἄμμωνα μὴ παρακομίζειν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκτισμένην ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πόλιν, ἐπιφανεστάτην οὖσαν σχεδόν τι τῶν κατὰ τὴν
4 οἰκουμένην, ἀποθέσθαι. κατεσκεύασεν οὖν τέμενος κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου δόξης ἄξιον, ἐν ᾧ κηδεύσας αὐτὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἡρωικαῖς καὶ ἀγῶσι μεγαλοπρεπέσι τιμήσας οὐ παρ' ἀνθρώπων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ
5 θεῶν καλὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἔλαβεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωποι διὰ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εὐχάριστον καὶ μεγαλόψυχον συνέτρεχον πάντοθεν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν καὶ προθύμως ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὴν στρατείαν παρείχοντο, καίπερ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως μελλούσης πολεμεῖν πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον, καὶ κινδύνων προδήλων καὶ μεγάλων ὄντων ὅμως ἅπαντες τὴν τούτου σωτηρίαν
6 τοῖς ἰδίοις κινδύνοις ἑκουσίως περιεποιήσαντο· οἱ δὲ θεοὶ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰς πάντας τοὺς φίλους ἐπιείκειαν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων παραδόξως αὐτὸν διέσωσαν.

29. Περδίκκας γὰρ ὑφορώμενος αὐτοῦ τὴν αὔξησιν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔκρινε μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων τῷ πλείστῳ μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, Εὐμενῆ δ' ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον κωλύσοντα τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ Κρατερὸν διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, δοὺς αὐτῷ

making ready this work, he brought the body of the king from Babylon to Egypt.[1] Ptolemy, moreover, doing honour to Alexander, went to meet it with an army as far as Syria, and, receiving the body, deemed it worthy of the greatest consideration. He decided for the present not to send it to Ammon, but to entomb it in the city that had been founded by Alexander himself,[2] which lacked little of being the most renowned of the cities of the inhabited earth. There he prepared a precinct worthy of the glory of Alexander in size and construction. Entombing him in this and honouring him with sacrifices such as are paid to demigods and with magnificent games, he won fair requital not only from men but also from the gods. For men, because of his graciousness and nobility of heart, came together eagerly from all sides to Alexandria and gladly enrolled for the campaign, although the army of the kings was about to fight against that of Ptolemy; and, even though the risks were manifest and great, yet all of them willingly took upon themselves at their personal risk the preservation of Ptolemy's safety. The gods also saved him unexpectedly from the greatest dangers on account of his courage and his honest treatment of all his friends.[3] 321 B.C.

29. For Perdiccas, viewing with suspicion Ptolemy's increase in power, decided that he himself and the kings would make a campaign against Egypt with most of the army, but Eumenes he sent to the Hellespont to prevent Antipater and Craterus from crossing

[1] Cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 25, 10. 1; Pausanias, 1. 6. 3; Strabo, 17. 1. 8.

[2] According to Pausanias, the body was buried at Memphis.

[3] Cp. chaps. 14. 1 and 33. 3.

2 τὴν ἁρμόζουσαν δύναμιν. συνεξέπεμψε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἱκανούς, ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἀδελφὸς καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος, καὶ τούτοις παρεκελεύσατο πάντα πειθαρχεῖν Εὐμενεῖ διά τε τὴν στρατηγίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τὴν
3 τῆς πίστεως βεβαιότητα. ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς μετὰ τῆς δοθείσης δυνάμεως παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ προκατασκευασάμενος[1] ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας σατραπείας ἵππων πλῆθος ἐκόσμησε τὴν στρατιάν, ἐλλειπῆ καθεστῶσαν κατὰ τοῦτο τὸ μέρος.

4 Τῶν δὲ περὶ Κρατερὸν καὶ Ἀντίπατρον περαιωσάντων τὰς δυνάμεις ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὁ μὲν Νεοπτόλεμος φθονήσας τῷ Εὐμενεῖ καὶ περὶ αὑτὸν ἔχων Μακεδονικὴν δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον λάθρᾳ διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον καὶ συνθέμενος κοινοπραγίαν ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ Εὐμενεῖ. καταφανὴς δὲ γενόμενος καὶ συναναγκασθεὶς μάχην συνάψαι αὐτός τε ἐκινδύνευσεν ἀναιρεθῆναι καὶ τὴν
5 δύναμιν σχεδὸν ἅπασαν ἀπέβαλεν· ὁ γὰρ Εὐμενὴς νικήσας καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν τὸ λοιπόν τε πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν προσηγάγετο καὶ τὴν δύναμιν τὴν ἰδίαν οὐ μόνον διὰ τῆς νίκης ἐπηύξησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαβόμενος Μακεδόνων ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν πλῆθος.
6 Νεοπτόλεμος μὲν οὖν μετὰ τριακοσίων ἱππέων διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως ἀφίππευσε μετὰ τούτων πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον· οὗτοι δὲ συνεδρεύσαντες περὶ τοῦ πολέμου διέγνωσαν τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς δύο μέρη διελεῖν καὶ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον Ἀντίπατρον ἀναλαβόντα προάγειν ἐπὶ Κιλικίας, διαπολεμήσοντα πρὸς Περδίκκαν, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέρος ἔχοντα Κρατερὸν ἐπιβαλεῖν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ

[1] προσκατασκευασάμενος Dindorf.

into Asia,[1] giving him a suitable force. He also sent 321 B.C.
with him enough of the commanders of note, of whom the most prominent were his brother Alcetas and Neoptolemus; and he ordered them to obey Eumenes in all things because of his skill as general and his firm loyalty. Eumenes, with the forces that had been given him, went to the Hellespont; and there, having already prepared a large body of cavalry from his own satrapy, he marshalled his army, which had previously been deficient in that branch.

When Craterus and Antipater had brought their forces across from Europe, Neoptolemus, who was jealous of Eumenes and had a considerable number of Macedonians in his following, secretly entered into negotiations with Antipater, came to an agreement with him, and plotted against Eumenes. On being discovered and forced to fight, he himself was in danger of being killed, and he lost almost all his forces; for Eumenes, after he had won the victory and had killed many, won over the remaining soldiers and increased his own power, not only by the victory but also by having acquired a large number of stout Macedonians. But Neoptolemus, who had saved himself from the battle with three hundred horsemen, rode off with them to Antipater. A council of war was held, and it was decided to divide the forces into two parts. Antipater was to take one part and set out for Cilicia to fight against Perdiccas, and Craterus with the other part was to attack Eumenes and, after

[1] Cp. chap. 25. 6. For this campaign cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 26-27; Justin, 13. 8. 1-9; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 4-7; Nepos, *Eumenes*, 3-4. It is dated 321/0 by the Parian Marble, and probably took place early in the summer of 321.

καὶ τούτους καταπολεμήσαντα καταντᾶν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον, ὅπως εἰς ταὐτὸ συναχθεισῶν τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου προσληφθέντος εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν δυνατοὶ γένωνται περιγενέσθαι τῶν βασιλικῶν δυνάμεων.

30. Εὐμενὴς δὲ πυνθανόμενος προάγειν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους ἤθροισε πανταχόθεν τὰς δυνάμεις καὶ μάλιστα τὴν ἱππικήν· τοῖς γὰρ πεζοῖς οὐ δυνάμενος ἐξισωθῆναι τῇ Μακεδονικῇ φάλαγγι κατεσκεύαζεν ἀξιόλογον σύστημα τῶν ἱππέων, δι᾽
2 ὧν ἤλπιζε κρατήσειν τῶν ἐναντίων. ὡς δ᾽ ἤγγισαν ἀλλήλαις αἱ δυνάμεις, ὁ μὲν Κρατερὸς συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ παρορμήσας εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς οἰκείοις λόγοις ἔφησε διδόναι τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐὰν κρατήσωσι τῇ μάχῃ, διαρπάσαι
3 τῶν πολεμίων πάσας τὰς ἀποσκευάς. πάντων δὲ προθύμων γενομένων ἐξέταξε[1] τὴν δύναμιν, τοῦ μὲν δεξιοῦ κέρατος αὐτὸς ἡγούμενος, τοῦ δ᾽ εὐωνύμου
4 τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραδοὺς Νεοπτολέμῳ. εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Μακεδόνες[2] διαβεβοημένοι ταῖς ἀνδραγαθίαις, ἐν οἷς εἶχε μάλιστα τὰς ἐλπίδας τῆς νίκης· ἱππεῖς δὲ συνηκολούθουν πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων.
5 Εὐμενὴς δ᾽ εἶχε πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους, παντοδαποὺς τοῖς γένεσιν, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, δι᾽ ὧν τὸν κίνδυνον κρίνειν διεγνώκει.

Ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς διελομένων[3] ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα καὶ πολὺ πρὸ τῆς φάλαγγος προϊππευσάντων ὁ μὲν Κρατερὸς πρῶτος μετὰ τῶν ἐπιλέκτων ἐπιρράξας τοῖς πολεμίοις ἠγωνίσατο μὲν περιβλέπτως, σφαλέντος δὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὴν

[1] ἐξέταξε Hertlein: ἔταξε.

defeating him, to join Antipater. In this way, when they had combined their forces and had added Ptolemy to the alliance, they might be able to overmatch the royal armies. 321 B.C.

30. As soon as Eumenes heard that the enemy was advancing upon him, he collected his forces, particularly his cavalry, from all sides. Since he could not equal the Macedonian phalanx with his foot soldiers, he made ready a noteworthy corps of horsemen, by means of whom he hoped to defeat those opposed to him. When the forces were near each other, Craterus summoned the whole army to an assembly and spurred them to battle with suitable words, saying that, if the soldiers were victorious in the battle, he would give them all the baggage of the enemy to plunder. Now that all had become eager for battle, he drew up the army, taking command of the right wing himself, and giving the command of the left to Neoptolemus. He had in all twenty thousand foot soldiers, chiefly Macedonians famed for their courage, on whom in particular he placed his hopes of victory, and more than two thousand horsemen as auxiliaries. Eumenes had twenty thousand foot soldiers, men of every race, and five thousand cavalry, by whom he had resolved to decide the encounter.

After both leaders had disposed their cavalry on the wings and had ridden far in advance of the line of infantry, Craterus was the first to charge upon the enemy with his picked troops, and he fought admirably; but his horse stumbled, and he fell to the

[2] Μακεδόνες Bekker: Μακεδόνων.
[3] διελομένων Wesseling: ἑλομένων.

γῆν, διὰ δὲ τὸν φυρμὸν καὶ τὴν πυκνότητα τῶν ἐφιππευόντων[1] ἀγνοηθεὶς ὃς ἦν συνεπατήθη καὶ
6 τὸν βίον ἀλόγως κατέστρεψεν. τῇ δὲ τούτου τελευτῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπαρθέντων καὶ τῷ πλήθει πανταχόθεν περιχεομένων[2] πολὺς ἐγίνετο φόνος. καὶ τὸ μὲν δεξιὸν κέρας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον θλιβόμενον ἠναγκάσθη καταφυγεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα, κατὰ κράτος ἡττημένον.

31. Κατὰ δὲ τὸ εὐώνυμον Νεοπτολέμου κατ' αὐτὸν τὸν Εὐμενῆ τεταγμένου συνέστη φιλοτιμία μεγάλη τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ὁρμησάντων.
2 γνωρισθέντες γὰρ ἀπό τε τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπισήμων συνεπλάκησαν ἀλλήλοις καὶ τῇ καθ' αὑτοὺς μονομαχίᾳ τὴν νίκην ἐποίησαν ἀκολουθῆσαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἀλλήλων καθικόμενοι παράδοξον καὶ παντελῶς ἐξηλλαγμένην μονομαχίαν συνεστήσαντο· ἐκφερόμενοι γὰρ τῷ θυμῷ καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους δυσμενείᾳ ταῖς ἀριστεραῖς χερσὶν ἀφέντες τὰς ἡνίας ἀλλήλων ἐδράξαντο. οὗ συμβάντος οἱ μὲν ἵπποι κατὰ τὴν ὁρμὴν ὑπεξέδραμον,[3] αὐτοὶ δ' ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν
3 γῆν. τῆς δ' ἐπαναστάσεως διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα καὶ βίαν τοῦ πτώματος χαλεπῶς γινομένης[4] ἀμφοτέροις, ἅτε καὶ τῶν ὅπλων ἐμποδιζόντων τὰ σώματα, ὁ μὲν Εὐμενὴς ἔφθασε, πρότερος διαναστάς, τοῦ Νεο-
4 πτολέμου τὴν ἰγνὺν πατάξαι. μεγάλης δὲ γενομένης διαιρέσεως καὶ σφαλείσης τῆς βάσεως ὁ μὲν πληγεὶς παραλελυμένος ἔκειτο, κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ τραύματος διαναστῆναι· ὅμως δὲ τῆς εὐψυχίας ὑπεραγούσης τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐλάττωσιν ἐν γόνασι

[1] ἐφιππευόντων Wesseling : ἀφιππευόντων.
[2] περιχεομένων Wesseling : περιεχομένων.

ground, where he was trampled under foot and ended his life ingloriously, unrecognized in the confusion and dense array of the charge. By his death the enemy were so encouraged that they rushed upon the mass from every side, and great slaughter ensued. The right wing, crushed in this way, was compelled to flee to the phalanx of the foot soldiers, overwhelmingly defeated. 321 B.C.

31. On the left wing, however, where Neoptolemus was arrayed against Eumenes himself, there occurred a great display of ambitious rivalry as the leaders rushed full at each other. For as soon as they recognized one another by their horses and other insignia, they engaged each other in close combat; and they made the victory depend upon the duel between themselves. After the opening exchange of sword strokes they engaged in a strange and most extraordinary duel; for, carried away by their anger and their mutual hatred, they let the reins fall from their left hands and grappled each other. As a result of this, their horses were carried out from under them by their own momentum, and the men themselves fell to the ground. Although it was difficult for either of them to get up because of the suddenness and force of the fall, especially as their armour hampered their bodies, Eumenes rose up first and forestalled Neoptolemus by striking him in the back of the knee. Since the gash proved to be severe and his legs gave way, the stricken man lay disabled, prevented by his wound from rising to his feet. Yet his courage overcame the weakness of his body, and, resting on his knees, he wounded his

[3] ὑπεξέδραμον Fischer : ἐξέδραμον.
[4] γινομένης Dindorf : γενομένης.

βεβηκὼς ἔτρωσε τὸν ἀντίπαλον εἴς τε τὸν βραχίονα
5 καὶ τοὺς μηροὺς τρισὶ πληγαῖς. οὐδεμιᾶς δ' οὔσης πληγῆς καιρίου καὶ τῶν τραυμάτων ἔτι θερμῶν ὄντων ὁ Εὐμενὴς δευτέραν πληγὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐπενέγκας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Νεοπτόλεμον.

32. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος τῶν ἱππέων συμπεσὸν εἰς μάχην πολὺν ἐποίει φόνον. διὸ καὶ τῶν μὲν πιπτόντων, τῶν δὲ τραυματιζομένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἰσόρροπος ἦν ὁ κίνδυνος, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ φανερᾶς γενομένης τῆς τοῦ Νεοπτολέμου τελευτῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ θατέρου κέρατος τροπῆς ἅπαντες πρὸς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν καὶ καθάπερ πρὸς τεῖχος ὀχυρὸν πρὸς[1] τὴν τῶν πεζῶν
2 φάλαγγα κατέφυγον. ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς ἀρκεσθεὶς τῷ προτερήματι καὶ τῶν στρατηγικῶν σωμάτων ἀμφοτέρων κυριεύσας ἀνεκαλέσατο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας. στήσας δὲ τρόπαιον καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς θάψας διεπέμψατο πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἡττημένων φάλαγγα, παρακαλῶν ἑαυτῷ προσθέσθαι καὶ διδοὺς ἐξουσίαν ἑκάστοις ὅποι[2] βούλονται τὴν ἀποχώρησιν
3 ποιήσασθαι. δεξαμένων δὲ τὰς διαλύσεις τῶν Μακεδόνων καὶ δόντων τὰς διὰ τῶν ὅρκων πίστεις ἔλαβον ἐξουσίαν ἔν τισι κώμαις πλησίον κειμέναις ἐπισιτίσασθαι. καὶ παρεκρούσαντο τὸν Εὐμενῆ· ἀναλαβόντες γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς παρασκευασάμενοι νυκτὸς ἀπηλλάγησαν καὶ λαθραίως
4 ἀπεχώρουν πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς ἐπεβάλετο μὲν κολάσαι τὴν ἀθεσίαν τῶν παραβεβηκότων τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ διώκειν ἐκ ποδῶν τὴν φάλαγγα, οὐδὲν δὲ δυνάμενος πρᾶξαι διά τε τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν ἀποχωρούντων καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῶν τραυμάτων ἐλάττωσιν ἀπέγνω τὸν διωγμόν. οὗτος

opponent with three blows on the arm and the thighs. 321 B.C.
As none of these blows was fatal and the wounds were still fresh, Eumenes struck Neoptolemus in the neck with a second blow and slew him.

32. Meanwhile the rest of the cavalry had joined battle and were making great slaughter. So, while some fell and others were wounded, the battle at first was even, but afterwards, when they became aware of the death of Neoptolemus and of the rout of the other wing, all made off and fled for refuge to the phalanx of their infantry as to a strong fortress. Eumenes, satisfied with his advantage and master of the bodies of both generals, recalled his soldiers with the sound of the trumpet. After he had set up a trophy and buried the dead, he sent to the phalanx of the vanquished, inviting them to unite with him and giving permission to them severally to withdraw to whatever places they wished. When the Macedonians had accepted the terms of surrender and had pledged their faith by oaths, they received permission to go for food to certain villages that lay near. And they deceived Eumenes; for when they had recovered their strength and collected supplies, they set out at night and went off secretly to join Antipater. Eumenes attempted to punish the faithlessness of these men who had broken their oath and to follow at the heels of the phalanx; but, owing to the hardihood of those who were retreating and to the weakness caused by his wounds, he was unable to accomplish anything and gave up the pursuit. So by winning

[1] πρὸς added by Fischer. [2] ὅποι Stephanus: ὅσοι.

μὲν οὖν ἐπιφανεῖ μάχῃ νικήσας καὶ δύο μεγάλους
ἡγεμόνας ἀνελὼν μεγάλης ἔτυχε δόξης.
33. Ἀντίπατρος δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς διασω-
θέντας ἐκδεξάμενος καὶ προσαναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ
Κιλικίαν, σπεύδων βοηθῆσαι τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ. Περ-
δίκκας δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν κατὰ τὸν Εὐμενῆ νίκην
πολλῷ θρασύτερος ἐγένετο πρὸς τὴν εἰς Αἴγυπτον
στρατείαν· ὡς δ' ἐγγὺς ἐγένετο τοῦ Νείλου, κατ-
εστρατοπέδευσεν οὐ μακρὰν πόλεως Πηλουσίου.
2 ἐπιχειρήσας δὲ διώρυγά τινα παλαιὰν ἀνακαθαίρειν
καὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ λάβρως ἐκραγέντος καὶ τὰ ἔργα
λυμηναμένου πολλοὶ τῶν φίλων ἐγκαταλιπόντες
3 ἀπεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον· καὶ γὰρ φονικὸς
ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων περιαιρούμενος τὰς
ἐξουσίας καὶ καθόλου πάντων βουλόμενος ἄρχειν
βιαίως, ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοὐναντίον εὐεργετικὸς
καὶ ἐπιεικὴς καὶ μεταδιδοὺς πᾶσι τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῆς
παρρησίας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις διειληφὼς πάντας τοὺς
ἐπικαιροτάτους Αἰγύπτου τόπους φυλακαῖς ἀξιο-
λόγοις καὶ βέλεσι παντοδαποῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
4 ἅπασιν εὖ κατεσκευασμέναις.[1] διὸ καὶ κατὰ τὰς
ἐπιβολὰς κατὰ τὸ πλεῖστον ἐπλεονέκτει, πολλοὺς
5 ἔχων εὐνοοῦντας καὶ προθύμως διακινδυνεύοντας. ὁ
δ' οὖν Περδίκκας διορθούμενος τὰς ἐλαττώσεις συν-
ήγαγε τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τοὺς μὲν δωρεαῖς, τοὺς
δ' ἐπαγγελίαις μεγάλαις, πάντας δὲ φιλανθρώποις

[1] *κατεσκευασμέναις* Dindorf (1844), *κατεσκευασμένος* Dindorf (1828), Fischer: *κατεσκευασμένοις*.

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[1] According to chap. 37. 1, news of the defeat of Craterus and Neoptolemus did not reach the army until after the death of Perdiccas. Diodorus is probably using and confusing two different sources, unless by "the victory of

a notable victory and by slaying two mighty leaders, 321 B.C.
Eumenes gained great glory.

33. As soon as Antipater had received and enrolled those who escaped from the rout, he went on to Cilicia, making haste to go to the aid of Ptolemy. And Perdiccas, on learning of the victory of Eumenes,[1] became much more confident in regard to the Egyptian campaign[2]; and when he approached the Nile, he camped not far from the city of Pelusium. But when he undertook to clear out an old canal, and the river broke out violently and destroyed his work, many of his friends deserted him and went over to Ptolemy. Perdiccas, indeed, was a man of blood, one who usurped the authority of the other commanders and, in general, wished to rule all by force; but Ptolemy, on the contrary, was generous and fair and granted to all the commanders the right to speak frankly. What is more, he had secured all the most important points in Egypt with garrisons of considerable size, which had been well equipped with every kind of missile as well as with everything else. This explains why he had, as a rule, the advantage in his undertakings, since he had many persons who were well disposed to him and ready to undergo danger gladly for his sake. Still Perdiccas, in an effort to correct his deficiencies, called the commanders together, and by gifts to some, by great promises to others, and by friendly intercourse with all, won them

Eumenes" he means the unimportant defeat of Neoptolemus, which is hardly possible in the context. Cp. R. Schubert, *Die Quellen zur Geschichte der Diadochenzeit* (Leipzig, 1914), 196.

[2] For this campaign and the death of Perdiccas cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 28-29; Justin, 13. 8. 10; Pausanias, 1. 6. 3; Strabo, 17. 1. 8.

ὁμιλίαις ἐξιδιοποιησάμενος προετρέψατο πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιφερομένους κινδύνους. παραγγείλας δὲ ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ἀναζυγὴν ὥρμησε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφ' ἑσπέρας, οὐδενὶ δηλώσας τὸν τόπον εἰς ὃν
6 διεγνωκὼς ἦν καταντᾶν. τὴν δὲ νύκτα πᾶσαν ὁδοιπορήσας ἐν τάχει κατεστρατοπέδευσε παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον πλησίον φρουρίου τινὸς ὃ προσηγορεύετο Καμήλων τεῖχος. διαφαινούσης δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας διεβίβαζε τὴν δύναμιν ἡγουμένων μὲν[1] τῶν ἐλεφάντων, ἐπακολουθούντων δὲ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ κλιμακοφόρων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δι' ὧν ἔμελλε τὴν τειχομαχίαν ποιεῖσθαι. ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ἐπεβάλοντο οἱ κράτιστοι τῶν ἱππέων, οὓς διενοεῖτο ἐπιπέμπειν[2] τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ἐὰν τύχωσιν ἐπιφαινόμενοι.

34. Μεσοπορούντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐπεφάνησαν οἱ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον δρόμῳ προσιόντες πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πολίσματος ἐπικουρίαν. φθασάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ παρεισπεσόντων εἰς τὸ χωρίον καὶ διά τε τῶν σαλπίγγων καὶ βοῆς φανερὰν ποιησάντων τὴν ἑαυτῶν παρουσίαν, οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν οὐ κατεπλάγησαν, ἀλλὰ τολμηρῶς προσῆγον τοῖς
2 τειχίσμασιν. εὐθὺ δ' οἱ μὲν ὑπασπισταὶ προσθέμενοι τὰς κλίμακας ἀνέβαινον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων τὸν χάρακα διέσπων καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἐρρίπτουν. ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν[3] τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ βουλόμενος προτρέψασθαι τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ φίλους προσιέναι τοῖς δεινοῖς αὐτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν σάρισαν καὶ στὰς ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ προτειχίσματος τὸν μὲν ἡγούμενον τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐξετύφλωσεν, ὑπερδέξιον ἔχων τὴν στάσιν, τὸν δὲ ἐπικαθήμενον Ἰνδὸν τραυματίαν ἐποίησεν, τοὺς

over to his service and inspired them to meet the coming dangers. After warning them to be ready to break camp, he set out with his army at evening, disclosing to no one the point to which he intended to go. After marching all night at top speed he made camp beside the Nile near a certain fortified post that is called the Fort of Camels. And as day was dawning, he began to send the army across, the elephants in the van, then following them the shield-bearers and the ladder-carriers, and the others whom he expected to use in the attack on the fort. Last of all came the bravest of the cavalry, whom he planned to send against the troops of Ptolemy if they happened to appear. 321 B.C.

34. When they were halfway over, Ptolemy and his troops did appear, coming at a run to the defence of the post. Although these got the start of the attackers, threw themselves into the fort, and made their arrival known by blasts of the trumpet and by shouts, the troops of Perdiccas were not frightened, but boldly assaulted the fortifications. At once the shield-bearers set up the scaling ladders and began to mount them, while the elephant-borne troops were tearing the palisades to pieces and throwing down the parapets. Ptolemy, however, who had the best soldiers near himself and wished to encourage the other commanders and friends to face the dangers, taking his long spear and posting himself on the top of the outwork, put out the eyes of the leading elephant, since he occupied a higher position, and wounded its Indian mahout. Then, with utter con-

[1] μὲν added by Rhodoman.
[2] ἐπιπέμπειν Wesseling, Fischer: πέμπειν.
[3] αὑτὸν Dindorf.

δὲ διὰ τῆς κλίμακος ἀναβαίνοντας καταπεφρονη-
κότως τύπτων καὶ κατατραυματίζων περιεκύλισεν
3 εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων. ἀκολούθως δὲ
τούτῳ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Πτολεμαίου διαγωνιζο-
μένων τὸ μὲν ἐχόμενον θηρίον κατακοντισθέντος
τοῦ κυβερνῶντος αὐτὸ Ἰνδοῦ παντελῶς ἄχρηστον
4 ἐγένετο. ἐπὶ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον τῆς τειχομαχίας
συνεστώσης οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν ἐκ δια-
δοχῆς προσβάλλοντες πᾶσαν σπουδὴν εἰσεφέροντο
κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος
αὐτὸς ἀριστεύων καὶ τοὺς φίλους παρακαλῶν ἐνδεί-
ξασθαι τὴν εὔνοιαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἀρετήν, ἡρωικοὺς
5 ἀγῶνας συνεστήσατο. πολλῶν δ' ἀπολλυμένων
παρ' ἀμφοτέροις διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τῶν ἡγεμό-
νων φιλοτιμίας καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ταῖς
ὑπεροχαῖς τῶν τόπων πλεονεκτούντων, τῶν δὲ
περὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν τοῖς πλήθεσιν ὑπερεχόντων,
τὸ τελευταῖον ἀμφοτέρων διημερευσάντων ἐν[1] τοῖς
κινδύνοις ὁ μὲν Περδίκκας λύσας τὴν πολιορκίαν
ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν στρατοπεδείαν.

6 Νυκτὸς δ' ἀναζεύξας λαθραίαν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν πο-
ρείαν καὶ κατήντησεν εἰς τὸν ἀπέναντι τόπον τῆς
Μέμφεως, πρὸς ᾗ συμβαίνει σχίζεσθαι τὸν Νεῖλον
καὶ ποιεῖν νῆσον δυναμένην ἀσφαλῶς δέξασθαι
7 στρατοπεδείαν τε καὶ δύναμιν τὴν μεγίστην. εἰς
ταύτην οὖν διεβίβαζε τὴν δύναμιν ἐπιπόνως τῶν
στρατιωτῶν περαιουμένων διὰ τὸ βάθος τοῦ ποτα-
μοῦ· μέχρι γὰρ τοῦ γενείου τὸ ῥεῦμα προσπῖπτον
ἐσάλευε τὰ σώματα τῶν διαβαινόντων, ἅτε καὶ τῶν
ὅπλων ἐμποδιζόντων τοὺς ἄνδρας.

35. Ὁ δὲ Περδίκκας κατανοήσας τὴν δυσκολίαν
τοῦ ῥείθρου τοὺς μὲν ἐλέφαντας,[2] ἐκδεχόμενος τὴν

tempt of the danger, striking and disabling those who were coming up the ladders, he sent them rolling down, in their armour, into the river. Following his example, his friends fought boldly and made the beast next in line entirely useless by shooting down the Indian who was directing it. The battle for the wall lasted a long time, as the troops of Perdiccas, attacking in relays, bent every effort to take the stronghold by storm, while many heroic conflicts were occasioned by the personal prowess of Ptolemy and by his exhortations to his friends to display both their loyalty and their courage. Many men were killed on both sides, such was the surpassing rivalry of the commanders, the soldiers of Ptolemy having the advantage of the higher ground and those of Perdiccas being superior in number. Finally, when both sides had spent the whole day in the engagement, Perdiccas gave up the siege and went back to his own camp. 321 B.C.

Breaking camp at night, he marched secretly and came to the place that lies opposite Memphis, where it happens that the Nile is divided and makes an island large enough to hold with safety a camp of a very large army. To this island he began to transfer his men, the soldiers crossing with difficulty because of the depth of the river; for the water, which came up to the chins of those who were crossing, buffeted their bodies, especially as they were impeded by their equipment.

35. But Perdiccas, seeing the difficulty caused by the current, in an effort to break the downward rush

[1] ἐν added by Dindorf.
[2] τοῦ ποταμοῦ after ἐλέφαντας deleted by Dindorf.

καταφορὰν τοῦ ποταμοῦ,[1] ἐκ τῶν εὐωνύμων ἐπ-
έστησεν, καταπραΰνοῦντας τὸ ῥεῖθρον, τοὺς δ' ἱπ-
πεῖς ἐκ τοῦ δεξιοῦ μέρους ἔταξε, δι' ὧν ἐξεδέχετο
τοὺς παραφερομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ δι-
2 έσωζεν εἰς τὸ πέραν. Ἴδιον δέ τι καὶ παράδοξον
συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν τῆς δυνάμεως
ταύτης. τῶν πρώτων γὰρ ἀσφαλῶς διαβάντων οἱ
μετὰ ταῦτα περαιούμενοι μεγάλοις περιέπιπτον
κινδύνοις· ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς οὐδεμιᾶς οὔσης αἰτίας
φανερᾶς πολλῷ βαθύτερος ἐγίνετο καὶ τῶν σω-
μάτων ὅλων καταδυομένων ἅπαντες εἰς πολλὴν
3 ἀμηχανίαν ἐνέπιπτον.[2] τῆς δὲ κατὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν
αἰτίας ἐπιζητουμένης τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς ἀσυλλόγιστον
ἦν, ἔφασαν δ' οἱ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις ἐγ-
κεχωσμένην διώρυγα πάλιν ἐκφραχθῆναι καὶ συμ-
μιχθεῖσαν τῷ ποταμῷ βαθύτερον πεποιηκέναι τὸν
πόρον, οἱ δ' ὄμβρους ἐν τοῖς ἄνω τόποις γενο-
4 μένους αὐξῆσαι τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ Νείλου. τούτων δ'
οὐδέτερον ἦν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πόρου τὴν μὲν πρώτην διά-
βασιν ἀσφαλεστέραν συνέβαινε γεγονέναι ἀκεραίου
τῆς κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν ἄμμου γεγενημένης, κατὰ δὲ
τὰς ἄλλας ὑπὸ τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων ἵππων τε καὶ
ἐλεφάντων ἔτι δὲ πεζῶν, τοῖς μὲν ποσὶ τὴν ἄμμον
πατουμένην καὶ κινουμένην ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥείθρου κατ-
ενεχθῆναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κοιλωθέντος τοῦ πόρου
βαθυτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν διάβασιν κατὰ μέσον τὸν
ποταμόν.

5 Διὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀδυνατούσης τῆς
λοιπῆς δυνάμεως διαβῆναι τὸν ποταμὸν ὁ Περδίκ-

[1] The phrase ἐκδεχόμενος . . . τοῦ ποταμοῦ, which the MSS. place after ἐπέστησεν, transposed to its present position by Fischer.

of the river, placed the elephants in line on the left, thus mitigating the strength of the current, and placed on the right side the horsemen, through whose agency he kept catching the men who were being carried away by the river and bringing them safe to the other side. A peculiar and surprising thing took place during the crossing of this army, namely, that after the first men had crossed in safety, those who tried to cross afterwards fell into great danger. For although there was no visible cause, the river became much deeper, and, their bodies being totally submerged, they would one and all become completely helpless. When they sought the cause of this rise, the truth could not be found by reasoning. Some said that that somewhere upstream a canal that had been closed had been opened and, joining with the river, had made the ford deeper; others said that rain falling in the regions above had increased the volume of the Nile. It was, however, neither of these things, but what happened was that the first crossing of the ford had been freer from danger because the sand at the crossing had been undisturbed, but in the course of the other crossings by the horses and elephants which had gone over before and then by the infantry, the sand, trodden by their feet and set in motion by the current, was carried down stream, and the place of crossing being hollowed out in this way, the ford became deeper in the middle of the river. 321 B.C.

Since the rest of his army was unable to cross the river for this reason, Perdiccas was in great difficulty;

[2] ἐνέπιπτον Post, παρεγίνοντο Dindorf: περιέπιπτον MSS., Fischer.

κας εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν ἐνέπιπτεν καὶ[1] τῶν μὲν
διαβεβηκότων οὐκ ἀξιομάχων ὄντων τοῖς πολε-
μίοις, τῶν δ' ἐν τῷ πέραν μὴ δυναμένων βοηθεῖν
τοῖς ἰδίοις προσέταξεν εἰς τοὐπίσω πάλιν ἀπιέναι
6 πάντας. διόπερ ἀναγκασθέντων ἁπάντων περαι-
οῦσθαι τὸ ῥεῖθρον οἱ μὲν ἐπιστάμενοι καλῶς νεῖν
καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἰσχυρότατοι μετὰ πολλῆς κακο-
παθίας διενήξαντο τὸν Νεῖλον πολλὰ τῶν ὅπλων
ἀποβαλόντες, τῶν δ' ἄλλων διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν οἱ
μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥείθρου κατεπόθησαν, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς
πολεμίους ἐξέπεσον, οἱ πλεῖστοι δὲ παρενεχθέντες
ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον[2] ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ θηρίων
κατεβρώθησαν.

36. Ἀπολομένων δὲ πλειόνων ἢ δισχιλίων, ἐν
οἷς καὶ τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τινες ἡγεμόνων ὑπῆρχον,
ἀλλοτρίως τὸ πλῆθος ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν.
ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τὰ σώματα τῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν
ἐκπεσόντων καύσας καὶ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης κηδείας
ἀξιώσας ἀπέστειλε τὰ ὀστᾶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους τε
καὶ φίλους τῶν τετελευτηκότων.

2 Τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων οἱ παρὰ τῷ Περδίκκᾳ
Μακεδόνες πρὸς μὲν τοῦτον πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπ-
εθηριώθησαν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀπέκλιναν
3 ταῖς εὐνοίαις. ἐπιγενομένης δὲ νυκτὸς πλήρης ἦν ἡ
παρεμβολὴ κλαυθμοῦ καὶ πένθους, τοσούτων μὲν
ἀνδρῶν ἀλόγως ἀπολωλότων ἄνευ πολεμίας πληγῆς
καὶ τούτων οὐκ ἐλαττόνων ἢ χιλίων θηριοβρώτων
4 γεγονότων. πολλοὶ μὲν οὖν[3] τῶν ἡγεμόνων συν-
ίσταντο καὶ κατηγόρουν τοῦ Περδίκκου, πᾶσα δ' ἡ

[1] καὶ added by Wesseling.
[2] τόπον Dindorf.
[3] οὖν added by Dindorf.

and, as those who had crossed were not strong enough 321 B.C. to fight the enemy and those on the nearer bank were not able to go to the aid of their fellows, he ordered all to come back again. When all were thus forced to cross the stream, those who knew how to swim well and were strongest of body succeeded in swimming across the Nile with great distress, after throwing away a good deal of their equipment; but of the rest, because of their lack of skill some were swallowed by the river, and others were cast up on the shore toward the enemy, but most of them, carried along for some time, were devoured by the animals in the river.[1]

36. Since more than two thousand men were lost, among them some of the prominent commanders, the rank and file of the army became ill disposed toward Perdiccas. Ptolemy, however, burned the bodies of those who were cast up on his side of the river and, having bestowed on them a proper funeral, sent the bones to the relatives and friends of the dead.

These things having been done, the Macedonians with Perdiccas became much more exasperated with him, but they turned with favour toward Ptolemy. When night had come, the encampment was filled with lamentations and mourning, so many men having been senselessly lost without a blow from an enemy, and of these no fewer than a thousand having become food for beasts. Therefore many of the commanders joined together and accused Perdiccas, and all the

[1] *i.e.* by the crocodiles. Frontinus (*Strategematica*, 4. 7. 20) adds a picturesque and probably fictitious detail: Ptolemy frightened Perdiccas into withdrawing by a cloud of dust raised by cattle dragging bundles of brush. Strabo (17. 1. 8) implies that Perdiccas succeeded in getting his army across to the island.

φάλαγξ τῶν πεζῶν ἀπαλλοτριωθεῖσα φανερὰν διὰ τῆς ἀπειλούσης φωνῆς τὴν ἰδίαν κατεσκεύασεν
5 ἀλλοτριότητα. διόπερ πρῶτοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἀπέστησαν ὡς ἑκατόν, ὧν ἦν ἐπιφανέστατος Πίθων ὁ τοὺς ἀποστάντας Ἕλληνας καταπολεμήσας, οὐδενὸς δὲ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου λειπόμενος φίλων ἀρετῇ τε καὶ δόξῃ· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἱππέων τινὲς συμφρονήσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Περδίκκου κατήντησαν καὶ προσπεσόντες ἀθρόοι κατέσφαξαν τὸν Περδίκκαν.

6 Τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ γενομένης ἐκκλησίας ὁ Πτολεμαῖος καταβὰς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀσπασάμενος περί τε τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἀπελογήσατο καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκλελοιπότων ἐχορήγησε σῖτόν τε δαψιλῆ ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἐπλήρωσε τὴν παρεμβολήν. μεγάλης δὲ τυγχάνων ἀποδοχῆς καὶ δυνάμενος παραλαβεῖν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν βασιλέων διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους εὔνοιαν τούτου μὲν οὐκ ὠρέχθη, τῷ δὲ Πίθωνι καὶ Ἀρριδαίῳ χάριτας ὀφείλων συγκατεσκεύασε τὴν τῶν ὅλων
7 ἡγεμονίαν· οἱ γὰρ Μακεδόνες βουλῆς προτεθείσης περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ συμβουλεύσαντος Πτολεμαίου πάντες προθύμως εἵλοντο τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελητὰς αὐτοκράτορας Πίθωνα καὶ Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ βασιλέως κατακομίσαντα. Περδίκκας μὲν οὖν ἄρξας ἔτη τρία τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἀπέβαλε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ψυχήν.

37. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτου τελευτὴν εὐθὺς ἧκόν τινες ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι παρατάξεως γενομένης περὶ Καππαδοκίαν Εὐμενὴς νενίκηκε, Κρατερὸς δὲ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος ἡττηθέντες ἀνῄρηνται. τοῦτο δ'

phalanx of the infantry, now alienated from him, 321 B.C.
made clear their own hostility with threatening shouts. Consequently about a hundred of the commanders were the first to revolt from him, of whom the most illustrious was Pithon, who had suppressed the rebellious Greeks, a man second to none of the Companions of Alexander in courage and reputation; next, some also of the cavalry conspired together and went to the tent of Perdiccas, where they fell on him in a body and stabbed him to death.

On the next day when there was an assembly of the soldiers, Ptolemy came, greeted the Macedonians, and spoke in defence of his own attitude; and as their supplies had run short, he provided at his own expense grain in abundance for the armies and filled the camp with the other needful things. Although he gained great applause and was in position to assume the guardianship of the kings through the favour of the rank and file, he did not grasp at this, but rather, since he owed a debt of gratitude to Pithon and Arrhidaeus, he used his influence to give them the supreme command. For the Macedonians, when the question of the primacy was raised in the assembly and Ptolemy advocated this course, without a dissenting voice enthusiastically elected as guardians of the kings and regents Pithon and that Arrhidaeus who had conveyed the body of Alexander. So Perdiccas, after he had ruled for three years, lost both his command and his life in the manner described.

37. Immediately after the death of Perdiccas there came men announcing that, in a battle fought near Cappadocia, Eumenes had been victorious and Craterus and Neoptolemus had been defeated and killed.[1]

[1] Cp. chaps. 30-31 and footnote on chap. 33. 1.

εἰ δυσὶ πρότερον ἡμέραις ἐγένετο τῆς Περδίκκου τελευτῆς, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐτόλμησε τὰς χεῖρας Περδίκκᾳ
2 προσενεγκεῖν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς εὐημερίας. οἱ δ' οὖν Μακεδόνες πυθόμενοι τὰ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ θάνατον καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν πεντήκοντα, ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Ἀλκέτας ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Περδίκκου. ἀπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων τοῦ Περδίκκου τοὺς μάλιστα πιστοτάτους καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Ἀταλάντην, ἣν ἦν γεγαμηκὼς Ἄτταλος ὁ τοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρειληφώς.

3 Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τοῦ Περδίκκου Ἄτταλος ὁ τοῦ στόλου τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων διέτριβε μὲν περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον, ὡς δ' ἐπύθετο τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τοῦ Περδίκκου, τὸν στόλον ἀναλαβὼν ἐξέπλευσε καὶ κατήντησεν εἰς Τύρον.
4 ὁ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης φρούραρχος Ἀρχέλαος, Μακεδὼν τὸ γένος, τὸν Ἄτταλον φιλοφρόνως ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τήν τε πόλιν παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ χρήματα, δεδομένα μὲν ὑπὸ Περδίκκου φυλάττειν, τότε δὲ δικαίως ἀποδεδομένα, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ὄντα ταλάντων ὀκτακοσίων. ὁ δ' Ἄτταλος ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ διατρίβων ἀνελάμβανε τῶν Περδίκκου φίλων τοὺς διασωζομένους ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τῇ Μέμφει στρατοπεδείας.

38. Ἀντιπάτρου δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβεβηκότος Αἰτωλοὶ κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Περδίκκαν συνθήκας ἐστράτευσαν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν, ἀντιπερισπάσαι βουλόμενοι τὸν Ἀντίπατρον. εἶχον δὲ στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους, ὧν ἦν στρατηγὸς Ἀλέξανδρος Αἰ-
2 τωλός. ἐν παρόδῳ δὲ τοὺς Ἀμφισσεῖς Λοκροὺς

If this had become known two days before the death of Perdiccas, no one would have dared raise a hand against him because of his great good fortune. Now, however, the Macedonians, on learning the news about Eumenes, passed sentence of death upon him and upon fifty of the chief men of his following, among whom was Alcetas, the brother of Perdiccas. They also slew the most faithful of Perdiccas' friends and his sister Atalantê, the wife of Attalus, the man who had received command of the fleet. 321 B.C.

After the murder of Perdiccas, Attalus, who had the command of the fleet, was waiting at Pelusium; but when he learned of the murder of his wife and of Perdiccas, he set sail and came to Tyre with the fleet. The commandant of the garrison of that city, Archelaüs, who was a Macedonian by race, welcomed Attalus and surrendered the city to him and also the funds that had been given him by Perdiccas for safe-keeping and had now been honourably repaid, being in amount eight hundred talents. Attalus remained in Tyre, receiving those of the friends of Perdiccas who escaped in safety from the camp before Memphis.[1]

38. After the departure of Antipater for Asia,[2] the Aetolians, in accordance with their compact with Perdiccas, made a campaign into Thessaly for the purpose of diverting Antipater. They had twelve thousand foot soldiers and four hundred horsemen, and their general was Alexander, an Aetolian. On the march they besieged the city of the Amphissian

[1] According to Arrian (*FGrH*, 156. 11. 39), he gathered a force of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse with which he made an unsuccessful attack on Rhodes.
[2] Cp. chaps. 25. 5, 29. 4.

πολιορκήσαντες τήν τε χώραν αὐτῶν κατέδραμον καί τινα τῶν πλησίον πολισμάτων εἷλον. ἐνίκησαν δὲ μάχῃ τὸν Ἀντιπάτρου στρατηγὸν Πολυκλῆν καὶ τοῦτόν τε καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγους ἀνεῖλον· τῶν δὲ ζωγρηθέντων οὓς μὲν ἀπέδοντο,
3 οὓς δὲ ἀπελύτρωσαν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐμβαλόντες τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Θετταλῶν ἔπεισαν κοινωνεῖν τοῦ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον πολέμου· καὶ ταχέως ἠθροίσθησαν οἱ πάντες πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ χίλιοι πεντακόσιοι.
4 τούτων δὲ προσαγομένων τὰς πόλεις Ἀκαρνᾶνες ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες πρὸς Αἰτωλοὺς ἐνέβαλον εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καὶ τήν τε χώραν ἐδῄουν καὶ τὰς πόλεις
5 ἐπολιόρκουν. οἱ δὲ Αἰτωλοὶ πυθόμενοι τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας κινδυνεύειν τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους στρατιώτας ἀπέλιπον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ, Μένωνα τὸν Φαρσάλιον ἐπιστήσαντες στρατηγόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς ἀναλαβόντες ἧκον συντόμως εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν καὶ τοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶνας καταπληξάμενοι τὰς πατρίδας
6 ἠλευθέρωσαν τῶν κινδύνων. τούτων δὲ περὶ ταῦτα ἀσχολουμένων Πολυπέρχων ὁ καταλελειμμένος ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ στρατηγὸς ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἀξιολόγου, νικήσας δὲ παρατάξει τοὺς πολεμίους τόν τε στρατηγὸν Μένωνα ἀνεῖλε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κατέκοψε τοὺς πλείστους καὶ τὴν Θετταλίαν ἀνεκτήσατο.

39. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀρριδαῖος καὶ Πίθων οἱ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀναζεύξαντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧκον
2 εἰς Τριπαράδεισον τῆς ἄνω Συρίας. ἐνταῦθα δὲ

Locrians, overran their country, and captured some 321 B.C. of the neighbouring towns. They defeated Antipater's general Polycles in battle, killing him and no small number of his soldiers. Some of those who were taken captive they sold, others they released on receiving ransoms. Invading Thessaly next, they persuaded most of the Thessalians to join them in the war against Antipater, and a force was quickly gathered, numbering in all twenty-five thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. While they were gaining the cities, however, the Acarnanians, who were hostile to the Aetolians, invaded Aetolia, where they began to plunder the land and to besiege the cities. When the Aetolians learned that their own country was in danger, they left the other troops in Thessaly, putting Menon of Pharsalus in command, while they themselves with the citizen soldiers went swiftly into Aetolia and, by striking fear into the Acarnanians, freed their native cities from danger. While, however, they were engaged in these matters, Polyperchon, who had been left in Macedonia as general, came into Thessaly with a considerable army and, by defeating the enemy in a battle in which he killed the general Menon and cut most of his army to pieces, recovered Thessaly.

39. In Asia Arrhidaeus and Pithon, the guardians of the kings, setting out from the Nile with the kings and the army, came to Triparadeisus in upper Syria.[1]

[1] The exact location of Triparadeisus (Three Parks) is unknown. For the disorder there and the subsequent settlement, including the redistribution of the satrapies, cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 31-38, Polyaenus, 4. 6. 4.

Εὐρυδίκης τῆς βασιλίσσης πολλὰ περιεργαζομένης καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν ἐπιβολαῖς ἀντιπραττούσης οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Πίθωνα δυσχρηστούμενοι καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὁρῶντες τοῖς ἐκείνης προστάγμασιν ἀεὶ μᾶλλον προσέχοντας συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπείπαντο, οἱ δὲ Μακεδόνες ἐπιμελητὴν
3 εἵλοντο τὸν Ἀντίπατρον αὐτοκράτορα. οὗτος δὲ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας καταντήσας εἰς Τριπαράδεισον κατέλαβε τὴν Εὐρυδίκην στασιάζουσαν καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ἀπαλλοτριοῦσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀντιπάτρου.
4 ταραχῆς δὲ μεγάλης οὔσης ἐν ταῖς δυνάμεσι καὶ κοινῆς ἐκκλησίας συναχθείσης ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος διαλεχθεὶς τοῖς πλήθεσι τὴν μὲν ταραχὴν κατέπαυσε, τὴν δ' Εὐρυδίκην καταπληξάμενος ἔπεισε τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.

5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς σατραπείας ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐμερίσατο καὶ Πτολεμαίῳ μὲν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν προσώρισεν· ἀδύνατον γὰρ ἦν τοῦτον μεταθεῖναι διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὴν Αἴγυπτον διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀνδρείας
6 ἔχειν οἱονεὶ δορίκτητον. καὶ Λαομέδοντι μὲν τῷ Μιτυληναίῳ Συρίαν ἔδωκε, Φιλοξένῳ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν, τῶν δ' ἄνω σατραπειῶν Μεσοποταμίαν μὲν καὶ τὴν Ἀρβηλῖτιν Ἀμφιμάχῳ, τὴν δὲ Βαβυλωνίαν Σελεύκῳ, Ἀντιγένει[1] δὲ τὴν Σουσιανὴν διὰ τὸ τοῦτον πρῶτον πεποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Περδίκκαν

[1] Ἀντιγένει Freinshem, Wesseling, cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 35: Ἀντιγόνῳ.

There Eurydicê,[1] the queen, was interfering in many matters and working against the efforts of the guardians. Pithon and his colleague were distressed by this, and when they saw that the Macedonians were paying more and more attention to her commands, they summoned a meeting of the assembly and resigned the guardianship; whereupon the Macedonians elected Antipater guardian with full power. When Antipater arrived at Triparadeisus a few days later, he found Eurydicê stirring up discord and turning the Macedonians away from him. There was great disorder in the army; but a general assembly was called together, and Antipater put an end to the tumult by addressing the crowd, and by thoroughly frightening Eurydicê he persuaded her to keep quiet.[2] 321 B.C.

Thereafter he distributed the satrapies anew. To Ptolemy he assigned what was already his, for it was impossible to displace him, since he seemed to be holding Egypt by virtue of his own prowess as if it were a prize of war. He gave Syria to Laomedon of Mitylenê and Cilicia to Philoxenus. Of the upper satrapies Mesopotamia and Arbelitis[3] were given to Amphimachus, Babylonia to Seleucus, Susianê to Antigenes because he had been foremost in making

[1] *i.e.* Eurydicê Adeia, whose father was a son of Perdiccas III and whose mother was an illegitimate daughter of Philip II. She was betrothed or married to Philip Arrhidaeus (who is not to be confused with the Arrhidaeus of the paragraph).

[2] According to Arrian (*FGrH*, 156. 9. 33), Antipater narrowly escaped being mobbed by the troops of Perdiccas' army, and only made his way to his own men when Antigonus and Seleucus came to his aid and diverted the angry soldiers at the risk of their own lives.

[3] The country about Arbela in the upper Tigris valley.

ἐπίθεσιν, Πευκέστῃ δὲ τὴν Περσίδα, Τληπολέμῳ δὲ τὴν Καρμανίαν, Πίθωνι δὲ Μηδίαν, Φιλίππῳ δὲ τὴν Παρθυαίαν, Ἀρίαν δὲ καὶ Δραγγηνὴν Στασάνδρῳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ, τὴν δὲ Βακτριανὴν καὶ Σογδιανὴν Στασάνορι τῷ Σολίῳ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ὄντι νήσου. Παροπανισάδας δὲ Ὀξυάρτῃ προσώρισε τῷ Ῥωξάνης πατρὶ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου γυναικός, τῆς δὲ Ἰνδικῆς τὰ μὲν συνορίζοντα Παροπανισάδαις Πίθωνι τῷ Ἀγήνορος, τὰς δ' ἐχομένας βασιλείας τὴν μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰνδὸν ποταμὸν Πώρῳ, τὴν δὲ παρὰ τὸν Ὑδάσπην Ταξίλῃ (οὐ γὰρ ἦν τούτους τοὺς βασιλεῖς μετακινῆσαι χωρὶς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἡγεμόνος ἐπιφανοῦς), τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον κεκλιμένων Καππαδοκίαν μὲν Νικάνορι, Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην καὶ Λυκίαν Ἀντιγόνῳ καθάπερ πρότερον ἔσχε, Καρίαν δὲ Ἀσάνδρῳ,[1] Λυδίαν δὲ Κλείτῳ, Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησ-
7 πόντῳ Ἀρριδαίῳ. στρατηγὸν δὲ τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπέδειξεν Ἀντίγονον, ᾧ προστεταγμένον ἦν καταπολεμῆσαι Εὐμενῆ τε καὶ Ἀλκέταν· παρέζευξε δὲ τῷ Ἀντιγόνῳ χιλίαρχον τὸν υἱὸν Κάσανδρον, ὅπως μὴ δύνηται διαλαθεῖν ἰδιοπραγῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν

[1] Ἀσάνδρῳ Wesseling, cp. chap. 3. 1 : Κασάνδρῳ.

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[1] A little later we find a Philotas governing Parthia, cp. Book 19. 14. 1.

[2] Mention of the re-appointment of Sibyrtius as satrap of Arachosia seems to have been omitted or lost at this point (Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 36 ; cp. chap. 3. 3, and Book 19. 14. 6).

the attack on Perdiccas, Persia to Peucestes, Carmania to Tlepolemus, Media to Pithon, Parthia to Philip,[1] Aria and Drangenê to Stasander of Cyprus, Bactrianê and Sogdianê to Stasanor of Soli, who was from that same island.[2] He added Paropanisadae to the domain of Oxyartes, father of Alexander's wife Roxanê, and the part of India bordering on Paropanisadae to Pithon son of Agenor. Of the two neighbouring kingdoms, the one along the Indus River was assigned to Porus and that along the Hydaspes to Taxiles, for it was not possible to remove these kings without employing a royal army and an outstanding general. Of the satrapies that face the north, Cappadocia was assigned to Nicanor,[3] Great Phrygia and Lycia to Antigonus as before, Caria to Asander, Lydia to Cleitus, and Hellespontine Phrygia to Arrhidaeus. As general of the royal army he appointed Antigonus, assigning him the task of finishing the war against Eumenes and Alcetas ; but he attached his own son Cassander to Antigonus as chiliarch[4] so that the latter might not be able to pursue his own ambitions undetected. Antipater himself with the kings and his own army went on

321 B.C.

[3] Four men of this name are mentioned in this period : this satrap of Cappadocia, who remained true to Antigonus and was finally defeated by Seleucus (Book 19. 92) ; the friend and general of Ptolemy (chap. 43. 2) ; Cassander's supporter, who commanded the garrison in Munychia (chap. 64. 1, etc.) : and Cassander's brother (Book 19. 11. 8). Cp. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2. 145, note 2.

[4] A chiliarch was, properly speaking, a commander of a thousand, but the Greeks used the term to designate the very influential official who had commanded the bodyguard of the Persian king. Alexander gave this title first to Hephaestion and later to Perdiccas (Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 1. 3, cp. chap. 48. 4-5 below).

δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, κατάξων τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα.

40. Ἀντίγονος δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀποδεδειγμένος στρατηγὸς διαπολεμήσων πρὸς Εὐμενῆ ἤθροισεν ἐκ τῆς χειμασίας τὰς δυνάμεις. παρασκευασάμενος δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ,
2 διατρίβοντα περὶ Καππαδοκίαν. ὁ δ' Εὐμενής, ἀποστάντος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τινος τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἡγεμόνων ὀνόματι Περδίκκου, στρατοπεδεύοντος ἀπὸ τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδοῦ μετὰ τῶν συναποστάντων στρατιωτῶν πεζῶν μὲν τρισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ πεντακοσίων, ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν Φοίνικα τὸν Τενέδιον, ἔχοντα πεζοὺς μὲν ἐπιλέκτους τετρακισχιλίους,
3 ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους. οὗτος δὲ νυκτοπορίᾳ συντόνῳ χρησάμενος προσέπεσε τοῖς ἀποστάταις ἀπροσδοκήτως περὶ δευτέραν φυλακὴν νυκτερινήν· καταλαβὼν δ' αὐτοὺς κοιμωμένους τόν τε Περδίκκαν ἐζώγρησε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἐγκρατὴς ἐγένετο.
4 Εὐμενὴς δὲ τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους τῆς ἀποστάσεως ἡγεμόνας ἐθανάτωσε· τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀναμίξας καὶ φιλανθρώπως προσενεχθεὶς ἰδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις ἐποιήσατο.
5 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ μὲν Ἀντίγονος διαπεμψάμενος πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίδην τινά, τῶν ἱππέων ἀφηγούμενον παρ' Εὐμενεῖ, μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις δι' ἀπορρήτων

[1] There appears to be a lacuna of considerable length at about this point. Cassander convinced Antipater that his suspicions of Antigonus were ill founded. Antipater accordingly left to Antigonus for use in the war against Eumenes a large part of the army that he himself had brought from Europe. He then returned to Macedonia, accompanied by the kings and probably by Cassander. Eumenes meantime tried in vain to secure the moral aid of Cleopatra, Alexander's sister, who was then in Sardes; and his efforts toward effective co-operation with Alcetas were also unavailing. In spite of this he was too strong for Antigonus to attack, and an army sent by Antigonus against Alcetas was defeated. Eumenes spent the winter (321/0) in Greater Phrygia, and then withdrew to Cappadocia. Cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 11. 40-45; Justin, 14. 1; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 8. 3-7. For the continuation of the narrative cp. chap. 48. 1.

into Macedonia in order to restore the kings to their native land.[1] 321 B.C.

40. Antigonus, who had been designated general of Asia for the purpose of finishing the war with Eumenes, collected his troops from their winter quarters.[2] After making preparations for the battle, he set out against Eumenes, who was still in Cappadocia. Now one of Eumenes' distinguished commanders named Perdiccas had deserted him and was encamped at a distance of three days' march with the soldiers who had joined him in the mutiny, three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. Eumenes, accordingly, sent against him Phoenix of Tenedos with four thousand picked foot-soldiers and a thousand horsemen. After a forced night march Phoenix fell unexpectedly on the deserters at about the second watch of the night, and catching them asleep, took Perdiccas alive and secured control of his troops. Eumenes put to death the leaders who had been most responsible for the desertion, but by distributing the common soldiers among the other troops and treating them with kindness, he secured them as loyal supporters. 320 B.C.

Thereafter Antigonus sent messages to a certain Apollonides, who commanded the cavalry in the army of Eumenes, and by great promises secretly per-

[2] This is the winter of 321/0. For the following campaign cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 9; Justin, 14. 2. 1-3.

ἔπεισε[1] προδότην γενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὴν μάχην
6 αὐτομολῆσαι. τοῦ δ' Εὐμενοῦς στρατοπεδεύοντος τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἔν τισιν εὐθέτοις πεδίοις πρὸς ἱππομαχίαν ἐπιβαλὼν ὁ Ἀντίγονος μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως κατελάβετο τὴν ὑπερκειμένην τῶν πεδίων
7 ὑπωρίαν. εἶχε δ' ὁ μὲν Ἀντίγονος κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς πεζοὺς μὲν πλείω τῶν μυρίων, ὧν ἦσαν οἱ ἡμίσεις Μακεδόνες, θαυμαστοὶ κατὰ τὰς ἀνδραγαθίας, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ τριάκοντα, ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς πεζοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους
8 τῶν δισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντακισχιλίους. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου μετὰ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἱππέων ποιήσαντος ἀλόγως ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων διάστασιν ἐνίκησεν ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ ἀνεῖλεν τῶν ἐναντίων εἰς ὀκτακισχιλίους. ἐκυρίευσε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἁπάσης, ὥστε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ στρατιώτας διὰ μὲν τὴν ἧτταν καταπλαγῆναι, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀθυμῆσαι.

41. Μετὰ δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ μὲν Εὐμενὴς ἐπεβάλετο φεύγειν εἰς Ἀρμενίαν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ κατοικούντων τινὰς πρὸς τὴν συμμαχίαν συλλαβέσθαι· καταταχούμενος δὲ καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρῶν ἀποχωροῦντας πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον κατελάβετο χωρίον
2 ὀχυρὸν ὃ προσηγορεύετο Νῶρα. ἦν δὲ τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο παντελῶς μικρὸν διὰ τὸ τὸν περίβολον ἔχειν μὴ πλείω δυεῖν σταδίων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐρυμνότητα θαυμαστόν· ἐπὶ γὰρ πέτρας ὑψηλῆς εἶχε τὰς οἰκίας συνῳκοδομημένας καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως, τὰ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν κατασκευῆς θαυμαστῶς
3 ὠχύρωτο. εἶχε δὲ καὶ παραθέσεις σίτου πολλοῦ

[1] ἔπεισε Stephanus, cp. chap. 49. 2: ἐποίησε.

suaded him to become a traitor and to desert during the battle. While Eumenes was encamped in a plain of Cappadocia well suited for cavalry fighting, Antigonus fell upon him with all his men and took the foothills that commanded the plain. Antigonus at that time had more than ten thousand foot soldiers, half of whom were Macedonians admirable for their hardihood, two thousand mounted troops, and thirty elephants; while Eumenes commanded not less than twenty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry. But when the battle became hot and Apollonides with his cavalry unexpectedly deserted his own side, Antigonus won the day and slew about eight thousand of the enemy. He also became master of the entire supply train, so that Eumenes' soldiers were both dismayed by the defeat and despondent at the loss of their supplies. 320 B.C.

41. After this Eumenes undertook to escape into Armenia and to bring over to his alliance some of the inhabitants of that land; but as he was being overtaken and saw that his soldiers were going over to Antigonus, he occupied a stronghold called Nora.[1] This fortress was very small with a circuit of not more than two stades,[2] but of wonderful strength, for its buildings had been constructed close together on the top of a lofty crag, and it had been marvellously fortified, partly by nature, partly by the work of men's hands. Furthermore, it contained a stock of grain,

[1] For the retirement to Nora and the defence of the fortress cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 9-11; Nepos, *Eumenes*, 5. 3-7; Justin, 14. 2. 1-4; Strabo, 12. 2. 6. The exact location of Nora is not known; it was probably in the northern part of the Taurus (Hassan Dagh). Eumenes seems to have spent the winter of 320/19 in the fortress.

[2] About 1200 feet.

καὶ ξύλων καὶ ἁλῶν[1] ὥστ' εἰς ἔτη πολλὰ δύνασθαι χορηγῆσαι πάντα τοῖς εἰς αὐτὴν καταφυγοῦσι. συνέφυγον δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν φίλων οἱ ταῖς εὐνοίαις διαφέροντες καὶ κεκρικότες συναποθνήσκειν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους· οἱ δὲ πάντες ὑπῆρχον ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πεζοὶ περὶ ἑξακοσίους.

4 Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν μετ' Εὐμενοῦς δύναμιν καὶ τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύταις προσόδων κύριος γενόμενος, ἔτι δὲ παραλαβὼν πλῆθος χρημάτων μειζόνων πραγμάτων ὠρέγετο· οὐκέτι γὰρ οὐδεὶς τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἡγεμόνων ἀξιόμαχον εἶχε δύναμιν διαγωνίσασθαι πρὸς
5 αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν πρωτείων. διὸ καὶ πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον κατὰ μὲν τὸ παρὸν προσεποιεῖτο φιλικῶς διακεῖσθαι, διεγνώκει δὲ τὰ καθ' αὑτὸν ἀσφαλισάμενος μηκέτι προσέχειν μήτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι
6 μήτε Ἀντιπάτρῳ. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον περιέλαβε τοὺς καταπεφευγότας εἰς τὸ φρούριον διπλοῖς τοῖς τείχεσι καὶ τάφροις καὶ χαρακώμασι θαυμαστοῖς· μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εἰς σύλλογον ἐλθὼν Εὐμενεῖ καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φιλίαν ἀνανεωσάμενος ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν κοινοπραγεῖν. ὁ δὲ εἰδὼς τὴν τύχην ὀξέως μεταβάλλουσαν μείζονας ᾔτει φιλανθρωπίας τῆς
7 περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης περιστάσεως· ᾤετο γὰρ δεῖν αὐτῷ συγχωρηθῆναι τὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς δεδομένας σατραπείας καὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων ἁπάντων ἀπόλυσιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀντίπατρον τὴν ἀναφορὰν ἐποιήσατο, τοῦ δὲ χωρίου τὴν ἱκανὴν φυλακὴν ἀπολιπὼν ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς περιγενο-

[1] ἁλῶν Fischer, cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 11. 1, τῶν ἄλλων Wesseling, Dindorf: ἄλλων.

firewood, and salt, ample to supply for many years all the needs of those who took refuge there. Eumenes was accompanied in his flight by those of his friends who were exceptionally loyal and had determined to die along with him if it came to the worst straits. In all, counting both cavalry and infantry, there were about six hundred souls.[1] 320 B.C.

Now that Antigonus had taken over the army that had been with Eumenes, had become master of Eumenes' satrapies together with their revenues, and had seized a great sum of money besides, he aspired to greater things; for there was no longer any commander in all Asia who had an army strong enough to compete with him for supremacy. Therefore, although maintaining for the time being a pretence of being well disposed toward Antipater, he had decided that, as soon as he had made his own position secure, he would no longer take orders either from the kings or from Antipater. Accordingly he first surrounded those who had fled to the stronghold with double walls, ditches, and amazing palisades; but then he parleyed with Eumenes, renewed the former friendship, and tried to persuade him to cast his lot with him. Eumenes, however, being well aware that Fortune changes quickly, insisted upon greater concessions than his existing circumstances justified; in fact, he thought that he ought to be given back the satrapies that had been originally assigned to him and be cleared of all the charges. But Antigonus referred these matters to Antipater, and then, after placing a sufficient guard about the fortress, he set out to meet those commanders of the enemy who

[1] In chap. 53. 7 the number who survived the siege is given as five hundred.

μένους[1] ἡγεμόνας τῶν πολεμίων καὶ δυνάμεις ἔχοντας Ἀλκέταν τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Περδίκκου καὶ Ἄτταλον τὸν τοῦ στόλου παντὸς κυριεύοντα.

42. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐμενὴς πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίπατρον πρεσβευτὰς ἀπέστειλε περὶ τῶν ὁμολογιῶν, ὧν ἦν ἡγούμενος Ἱερώνυμος ὁ τὰς τῶν διαδόχων ἱστορίας γεγραφώς. αὐτὸς δὲ πολλαῖς καὶ ποικίλαις κεχρημένος τοῦ βίου μεταβολαῖς οὐκ ἐταπεινοῦτο τῷ φρονήματι, σαφῶς εἰδὼς τὴν τύχην ὀξείας τὰς εἰς ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη ποιουμένην μεταβολάς.
2 ἑώρα γὰρ τοὺς μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλεῖς κενὸν ἔχοντας τὸ τῆς βασιλείας πρόσχημα, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους τοῖς φρονήμασιν ἄνδρας διαδεχομένους τὰς ἡγεμονίας, πάντας δὲ ἰδιοπραγεῖν βουλομένους. ἤλπιζεν οὖν, ὅπερ ἦν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἕξειν διά τε τὴν φρόνησιν καὶ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν τῶν πολεμικῶν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐν τῇ πίστει βεβαιότητος.

3 Ὁρῶν δὲ τοὺς ἵππους, διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ στενοχωρίᾳ τραχύτητα μὴ δυναμένους γυμνάζεσθαι, πρὸς τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἱππομαχίαις χρείαν ἀχρήστους ἐσομένους ἐπενοήσατό τινα ξένην καὶ παρηλλαγμένην τῶν
4 ἵππων γυμνασίαν. τὰς γὰρ κεφαλὰς αὐτῶν ταῖς σειραῖς ἀναδεσμεύων ἔκ τινων δοκίων ἢ παττάλων καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς διχάδας ἐωρήσας συνηνάγκαζεν[2] τοῖς ὀπισθίοις ποσὶν ἐπιβεβηκέναι, τοῖς δ' ἔμπρο-

[1] περιγενομένους Geer, πλανωμένους Unger, ὑπολειπομένους Reiske, ἐπιπορευομένους Rhodoman, Dindorf, Fischer: πορευομένους.

[2] καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς διχάδας ἐωρήσας συνηνάγκαζεν Fischer: δύο ἢ τρεῖς δοκίδας ἐωρήσας καὶ συναναγκάζων.

survived and had troops, namely Alcetas, who was brother of Perdiccas, and Attalus, who commanded the whole fleet.[1] 320 B.C.

42. Eumenes later sent envoys to Antipater to discuss the terms of surrender. Their leader was Hieronymus, who has written the history of the Successors.[2] Eumenes himself, who had experienced many and various changes in the circumstances of his life, was not cast down in spirit, since he knew well that Fortune makes sudden changes in both directions. He saw, on the one hand, that the kings of the Macedonians held an empty pretence of royalty, and on the other, that many men of lofty ambitions were succeeding to the positions of command, and that each of them wished to act in his own interests. He hoped, therefore, as truly happened, that many would have need of him because of his judgement and his experience in warfare, and even more because of his unusual steadfastness to any pledge.

Seeing that the horses, unable to exercise themselves because of the rough and confined space, would become unfit for use in mounted battle, Eumenes devised a certain strange and extraordinary exercise for them.[3] Attaching their heads by ropes to beams or pegs and lifting them two or three double palms,[4] he forced them to rest their weight upon their hind

[1] Cp. chap. 37. 2-3.

[2] Diodorus' account of the Successors of Alexander is based chiefly on the work of Hieronymus. Cp. the Introduction to this volume.

[3] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 11. 3-5; Nepos, *Eumenes*, 5. 4-6.

[4] The beams and pegs seem to have been part of the framework of the stable roof. The *dichas* or double palm was a measure of about six inches.

σθεν μόγις[1] ψαύειν τῆς γῆς μικρὸν ἀπολείποντας· εὐθὺς οὖν ὁ μὲν ἵππος βουλόμενος στηρίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐμπροσθίοις διεπονεῖτο τῷ τε σώματι παντὶ καὶ τοῖς σκέλεσι, συμπασχόντων ἁπάντων τῶν κατὰ τὸν ὄγκον μελῶν· τοιαύτης δὲ γινομένης κινήσεως ἱδρώς τε πολὺς ἐκ τοῦ σώματος ἐξεχεῖτο καὶ τῇ τῶν πόνων ὑπερβολῇ τὴν ἀκρότητα τῶν γυμνασίων
5 τοῖς ζῴοις περιεποιεῖτο. τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἅπασι τὰς αὐτὰς τροφὰς παρείχετο, μετέχων αὐτὸς τῆς λιτότητος, καὶ διὰ τῆς ὁμοίας συμπεριφορᾶς πολλὴν εὔνοιαν ἑαυτῷ, τοῖς δὲ συμπεφευγόσι πᾶσιν ὁμόνοιαν συγκατεσκεύασε. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ τοὺς συμπεφευγότας εἰς τὴν πέτραν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

43. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον Πτολεμαῖος παραδόξως ἀποτετριμμένος τόν τε Περδίκκαν καὶ τὰς βασιλικὰς δυνάμεις τὴν μὲν Αἴγυπτον ὡσανεί τινα[2] δορίκτητον εἶχεν. ὁρῶν δὲ τήν τε Φοινίκην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην ὀνομαζομένην Συρίαν εὐφυῶς κειμένας κατὰ τῆς Αἰγύπτου πολλὴν εἰσεφέρετο σπουδὴν
2 κυριεῦσαι τούτων τῶν τόπων.[3] ἐξαπέστειλεν οὖν τὴν ἱκανὴν δύναμιν καὶ στρατηγόν, ἕνα τῶν φίλων προχειρισάμενος, Νικάνορα. οὗτος δὲ στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Συρίαν Λαομέδοντα μὲν τὸν σατράπην ἐζώγρησε, τὴν δὲ Συρίαν ἅπασαν ἐχειρώσατο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὴν Φοινίκην πόλεις προσαγαγόμενος καὶ ποιήσας ἐμφρούρους ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, σύντομον τὴν στρατείαν καὶ πρακτικὴν πεποιημένος.

44. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀπολλοδώρου

[1] μόγις Dindorf, μόνον Wurm: μόνοις.
[2] Nitsche followed by Fischer adds βασιλείαν after τινα.

feet with their forefeet just clearing the ground. At 320 B.C.
once each horse, in an effort to find footing for its forefeet, began to struggle with its whole body and with its legs, all its members sharing in the exertion. At such activity sweat poured freely from the body and thus kept the animals in top condition through their excessive labours. He gave the same rations to all the soldiers, sharing in their simple food himself; and by his unchanging affability he gained great goodwill for himself and secured harmony among all his fellow refugees. Such was the situation of Eumenes and of those who had fled to the rock with him.[1]

43. As for Egypt,[2] Ptolemy, after he had unexpectedly rid himself of Perdiccas and the royal forces, was holding that land as if it were a prize of war. Seeing that Phoenicia and Coelê Syria, as it was called, were conveniently situated for an offensive against Egypt, he set about in earnest to become master of those regions.[3] Accordingly he dispatched an adequate army with Nicanor as general, a man selected from among his friends. The latter marched into Syria, took the satrap Laomedon captive, and subdued the whole land. After he had likewise secured the allegiance of the cities of Phoenicia and placed garrisons in them, he returned to Egypt, having made a short and effective campaign.

44. When Apollodorus was archon at Athens, the 319 B.C.

[1] Continued in chap. 53. 1.
[2] Continued from chap. 36. 7.
[3] For Ptolemy's campaign in Syria cp. *Marmor Parium* for 319/18; Appian, *Syrian History*, 52; and chap. 73. 2, below.

[3] τόπων Dindorf, cp. Book 19. 44. 5: πόλεων.

Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Ποπίλλιον καὶ Κόιντον Πόπλιον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀντίγονος καταπεπολεμηκὼς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ ἔκρινε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ Ἄτταλον· οὗτοι γὰρ ὑπελείποντο τῶν Περδίκκου φίλων καὶ οἰκείων ἡγεμόνες μὲν ἀξιόλογοι, στρατιώτας δ' ἔχοντες ἱκανοὺς ἀμφισβητῆσαι πραγμάτων. ἀναζεύξας οὖν μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐκ Καππαδοκίας προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πισιδικήν, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινε διατρίβειν τοὺς
2 περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν. ὀξεῖαν δὲ καὶ παντελῶς ἐπιτεταμένην τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος ἐν ἡμέραις ἑπτὰ καὶ ταῖς ἴσαις νυξὶ διήνυσε σταδίους δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Κρητῶν πόλιν. λαθὼν δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους διὰ τὴν ὀξύτητα τῆς πορείας καὶ γενόμενος πλησίον αὐτῶν ἀγνοούντων τὴν παρουσίαν ἔφθασεν ἀκρολοφίας
3 τινὰς καὶ δυσχωρίας προκαταλαβόμενος. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν πυθόμενοι τὴν παρουσίαν τῶν πολεμίων τὴν μὲν φάλαγγα ταχέως ἐξέταξαν, τοῖς δ' ἱππεῦσι προσπεσόντες τοῖς τὴν ἀκρώρειαν προκατέχουσιν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο βίᾳ κρατῆσαι καὶ ἀπὸ
4 τῆς ἀκρολοφίας ἐκβαλεῖν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ πολλῶν παρ' ἀμφοτέρων πεσόντων ὁ μὲν Ἀντίγονος ἔχων ἱππεῖς ἑξακισχιλίους ἀπὸ κράτους ἤλαυνεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων φάλαγγα, σπεύδων ἀποκόψαι τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν τὴν ἐπὶ
5 ταύτην καταφυγήν. οὗ συντελεσθέντος οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκρωρείας ὄντες, πολὺ τοῖς τε πλήθεσιν ὑπερ-

[1] Apollodorus was archon in 319/18. Livy (9. 7. 15) gives the consuls for 320 as Q. Publilius Philo for the third time and L. Papirius Cursor for the second time. Diodorus' "Poplius" is certainly due to dittography. Somewhere in

Romans elected Quintus Popillius and Quintus Poplius 319 B.C.
to the consulship.[1] During their term Antigonus, who had defeated Eumenes, decided to make war against Alcetas and Attalus; for these two remained from the friends and household of Perdiccas, noteworthy generals with soldiers enough to make a bid for power.[2] Therefore Antigonus set out with all his forces from Cappadocia and pushed on toward Pisidia, where Alcetas and his army were staying. Making a forced march that strained the endurance of his men to the utmost, he traversed two thousand five hundred stades in seven days and the same number of nights,[3] reaching Cretopolis, as it is called. He escaped the notice of the enemy because of the rapidity of his march, and drawing close to them while they were still ignorant of his coming, he stole a march on them by occupying certain rugged ridges. As soon as Alcetas learned that the enemy was at hand, he drew up his phalanx at top speed and with a mounted force attacked the troops that were holding the ridge, trying with all his might to get the best of them by force and hurl them from the hill. A stubborn battle was waged and many fell on both sides; then Antigonus led six thousand horsemen in a violent charge against the phalanx of the enemy in order to cut Alcetas' line of retreat to it. When this manœuvre had been successfully completed, the forces on the ridge, who were far superior in number

chaps. 26-43 two sets of annual magistrates and some of the events belonging to their years of office have been lost (cp. note on chap. 39. 7). [2] Cp. chaps. 37. 2-3 and 41. 7.

[3] About 287 miles, or 41 miles in each 24 hours. The exact site of the "City of the Cretans," like the significance of its name, is unknown, but it seems to have been somewhere in Cabalia or northern Lycia.

ἔχοντες καὶ τῇ δυσχωρίᾳ τῶν τόπων πλεονεκτοῦντες, ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς προσμαχομένους.[1] οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς καταφυγῆς ἀποκεκλεισμένοι, τῷ δὲ πλήθει τῶν πολεμίων εἰς μέσον ἀπειλημμένοι πρόδηλον εἶχον τὴν ἀπώλειαν. διὸ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας δυσβοηθήτου γενομένης ὁ μὲν Ἀλκέτας πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν μόλις διεξέπεσε πρὸς τὴν τῶν πεζῶν φάλαγγα.

45. Ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐξ ὑπερδεξίων τόπων ἐπαγαγὼν τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν κατεπλήξατο τοὺς πολεμίους πολὺ τοῖς πλήθεσι λειπομένους· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ σύμπαντες[2] πεζοὶ μὲν μύριοι καὶ ἑξακισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἐννακόσιοι, οἱ δ' Ἀντιγόνου χωρὶς τῶν ἐλεφάντων πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν τετρακισμυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑπτακισ-
2 χιλίους. ἅμα δὲ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐπιόντων κατὰ μέτωπον καὶ τῶν ἱππέων διὰ τὸ πλῆθος πανταχῇ περιχεομένων,[3] ἔτι δὲ τῶν πεζῶν πολλαπλασίων καὶ κρειττόνων ὄντων ταῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ τὴν στάσιν ὑπερδέξιον ἐχόντων, πολὺς θόρυβος καὶ φόβος κατεῖχε τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀλκέταν· διὰ δὲ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ὀξύτητος καὶ τῆς ἐνεργείας οὐδ' ἐκτάξαι
3 καλῶς τὴν φάλαγγα κατίσχυσε. τροπῆς δὲ παντελοῦς γενομένης Ἄτταλος μὲν καὶ Δόκιμος καὶ Πολέμων καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἡγεμόνων ἐζωγρήθησαν, Ἀλκέτας δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπασπιστῶν καὶ παίδων ἔφυγε μετὰ τῶν Πισιδῶν τῶν συστρατευομένων εἰς πόλιν Πισιδικὴν ὄνομα
4 Τερμησσόν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος πάντας[4] μὲν καθ'

[1] προσμαχομένους Dindorf: τοὺς μαχομένους RX, τοὺς προμαχομένους F.
[2] σύμπαντες Fischer: σύμμαχοι πάντες.

and also had an advantage from the difficulty of the terrain, routed the attackers. Alcetas, whose retreat to the infantry had been cut off and who was caught in a trap by the superior numbers of the enemy, faced imminent destruction. Therefore now that survival itself was difficult, he abandoned many of his men and hardly escaped to the phalanx of the footmen. 319 B.C.

45. Antigonus, however, led his elephants and his whole army down from a higher position and struck panic into his opponents, who were far inferior to him in number; for they were in all sixteen thousand foot and nine hundred horse, while Antigonus, in addition to the elephants, had more than forty thousand foot soldiers and above seven thousand horsemen. The elephants were now attacking the army of Alcetas from the front, and at the same time the horsemen because of superior numbers were pouring about them on all sides, while a force of infantry, which far outnumbered them and also surpassed them in valour, was holding a position above them. At this, tumult and panic began to grip Alcetas' soldiers; and because of the great rapidity and force of the attack, he was unable to draw up the phalanx properly. The rout was complete. Attalus, Docimus, Polemon, and many of the more important officers were taken captive[1]; but Alcetas, accompanied by his own guards and attendants, escaped with his Pisidian allies to a city of Pisidia called Termessus. Antigonus

[1] For their fate cp. Book 19. 16.

[3] περιχεομένων Wesseling: περιεχομένων.
[4] πάντας Post: τούτους. Fischer indicates a lacuna after παραλαβών.

ὁμολογίαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὰ ἴδια
τάγματα κατέταξε καὶ φιλανθρώπως αὐτοῖς χρη-
σάμενος ηὔξησε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν οὐ μετρίως.
5 οἱ δὲ Πισίδαι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες εἰς ἑξακισ-
χιλίους καὶ ταῖς ἀλκαῖς διαφέροντες παρεκάλουν
τὸν Ἀλκέταν θαρρεῖν, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι μηδ᾽ ἑνί τῳ
τρόπῳ ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτόν. διέκειντο γὰρ πρὸς
αὐτὸν εὐνοϊκῶς καθ᾽ ὑπερβολὴν διὰ τοιαύτας τινὰς
αἰτίας.

46. Ἀλκέτας μετὰ τὸν Περδίκκου θάνατον οὐκ
ἔχων συμμάχους κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἔκρινε τοὺς Πι-
σίδας εὐεργετεῖν, νομίζων ἕξειν συμμάχους πολε-
μικοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ χώραν ἔχοντας δυσέμβολον καὶ
2 μεστὴν ὀχυρῶν φρουρίων. διόπερ ἐν ταῖς στρατεί-
αις παρὰ πάντας τοὺς συμμάχους ἐτίμα περιττότε-
ρον τούτους καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολεμίας ὠφελείας
ἐμέριζεν αὐτοῖς, διδοὺς τῶν λαφύρων τὰ ἡμίση,
κατὰ δὲ τὰς ὁμιλίας λόγοις φιλανθρώποις χρώ-
μενος καὶ κατὰ τὰ σύνδειπνα καθ᾽ ἡμέραν τοὺς
ἀξιολογωτάτους ἐν μέρει παραλαμβάνων ἐπὶ τὰς
ἑστιάσεις, ἔτι δὲ τιμῶν πολλοὺς δωρεαῖς ἀξιολό-
3 γοις ἰδίους ταῖς εὐνοίαις κατεσκεύασεν. διόπερ
καὶ τότε τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχοντος ἐν τούτοις Ἀλκέτου
τῶν ἐλπίδων αὐτὸν οὐ διεψεύσαντο. τοῦ γὰρ
Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως πλησίον
τῆς Τερμησσοῦ καταστρατοπεδεύσαντος καὶ τὸν
Ἀλκέταν ἐξαιτοῦντος, ἔτι δὲ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων
συμβουλευόντων ἐκδοῦναι συστραφέντες οἱ νεώ-
τεροι πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς διαστάντες ἐψηφίσαντο
πᾶν ὑπομένειν δεινὸν ἕνεκα τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας.
4 Οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πείθειν ἐπ-
εχείρουν τοὺς νέους μὴ δι᾽ ἕνα Μακεδόνα περι-

obtained the surrender of all the rest by negotiation 319 B.C.
and enrolled them in his own ranks; by his kind treatment of them he brought no small addition to his forces. The Pisidians, however, who numbered six thousand and were of outstanding prowess, bade Alcetas be of good courage, promising that they would in no way fail him; for they were exceedingly well disposed to him for the following reasons.

46. Since Alcetas had had no supporters in Asia after the death of Perdiccas, he had decided to show kindness to the Pisidians, thinking that he would thus secure as allies men who were warlike and who possessed a country difficult to invade and well supplied with strongholds. For this reason during the campaigns he honoured them exceedingly above all the allies and distributed to them spoils from the hostile territory, assigning them half the booty. By employing the most friendly language in his conversation with them, by each day inviting the most important of them in turn to his table at banquets, and finally by honouring many of them with gifts of considerable value, he secured them as loyal supporters. Therefore even at this time Alcetas placed his hopes upon them, and they did not disappoint his hopes. For when Antigonus encamped near Termessus with all his army and demanded Alcetas, and even when the older men advised that he be surrendered, the younger, forming a compact group in opposition to their parents, voted to meet every danger in the interest of his safety.

The older men at first tried to persuade the younger not to permit their native land to become the spoil of

ἰδεῖν τὴν πατρίδα γινομένην δοριάλωτον· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀμετάθετον αὐτῶν τὴν ὁρμὴν ἑώρων, λάθρᾳ συμφρονήσαντες ἐξέπεμψαν νυκτὸς πρεσβείαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι τὸν Ἀλκέταν ἢ ζῶντα παραδώσειν ἢ τετελευτηκότα.
5 ἠξίουν δ' αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς προσβάλλοντα τῇ πόλει καὶ δι' ἀκροβολισμῶν ἐλαφρῶν προαγόμενον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ὑποχωρεῖν ὡς φεύγοντα· τούτου γὰρ γενομένου καὶ τῶν νεωτέρων περὶ τὴν μάχην ἐκτὸς τῆς πόλεως ἀσχολουμένων λήψεσθαι καιρὸν οἰκεῖον
6 ταῖς ἰδίαις ἐπιβολαῖς. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος πεισθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μακρὰν τῆς πόλεως μεταστρατοπεδεύσας διὰ τῶν ἀκροβολισμῶν προεσπᾶτο τοὺς
7 νέους εἰς τὸν ἐκτὸς[1] τῆς πόλεως ἀγῶνα. οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι μεμονωμένον ὁρῶντες τὸν Ἀλκέταν καὶ τῶν τε δούλων τοὺς πιστοτάτους καὶ τῶν ἀκμαζόντων πολιτῶν ἐπιλέξαντες τοὺς μὴ συστρατευομένους τῷ Ἀλκέτᾳ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐποιήσαντο κατὰ τὴν ἀπουσίαν τῶν νέων. ζωγρῆσαι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν οὐ κατίσχυσαν (ἔφθασε γὰρ αὐτὸν διαχειρισάμενος, ὅπως μὴ ζῶν ὑποχείριος γένηται τοῖς πολεμίοις), τὸ δὲ σῶμα αὐτοῦ θέντες ἐπὶ κλινίδιον καὶ συγκατακαλύψαντες εὐτελεῖ τρίβωνι κατὰ τὰς πύλας ἐξήνεγκαν καὶ λαθόντες τοὺς ἀκροβολιζομένους παρέδωκαν Ἀντιγόνῳ.

47. Διὰ δὲ τῆς ἰδίας ἐπινοίας ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐξελόμενοι τὴν πατρίδα τὸν μὲν πόλεμον ἀπεστρέψαντο,[2] τὴν δὲ πρὸς τοὺς νέους ἀλλοτριότητα φυγεῖν οὐ κατίσχυσαν· οὗτοι γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἐπανελθόντες καὶ τὸ πεπραγμένον ἀκούσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπηγριώθησαν διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀλκέταν

[1] ἐκτὸς Reiske: ἐκ.

war for the sake of a single Macedonian; but when 319 B.C. they saw that the young men's determination was not to be shaken, after taking counsel in secret, they sent an embassy to Antigonus by night, promising to surrender Alcetas either alive or dead. They asked him to attack the city for a number of days and, drawing the defenders forward by light skirmishing, to withdraw as if in flight. They said that, when this had happened and the young men were engaged in the battle at a distance from the city, they would seize a suitable occasion for their own undertaking. Antigonus, prevailed on by them, shifted his camp a long way from the city, and by skirmishing with the young men kept drawing them into battle outside the city. When the older men saw that Alcetas had been left alone, selecting the most trustworthy of the slaves and those of the citizens in the prime of life who were not working in his behalf, they made their attempt while the young men were still away. They could not, it is true, take him alive, for he laid hands on himself first in order not to come into the power of his enemies while still living; but his body, laid on a bier and covered with a coarse cloak, they carried out through the gates and delivered to Antigonus without attracting the attention of the skirmishers.

47. By thus delivering their state from danger by their own devices, they averted the war, but they could not escape the disaffection of the younger men; for as soon as these on their return from the fighting heard what had happened, they became enraged at their kinsfolk on account of their own excessive devo-

[2] ἀπεστρέψαντο MSS., Fischer, ἀπετρίψαντο Wesseling, Dindorf.

2 ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εὐνοίας. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατα-
λαβόμενοι μέρος τῆς πόλεως ἐψηφίσαντο τὰς μὲν
οἰκίας ἐμπρῆσαι, μετὰ δὲ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκχυθέντας
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐχομένους πορθεῖν
τὴν ὑπ' Ἀντίγονον τεταγμένην χώραν, ὕστερον δὲ
μετανοήσαντες τοῦ μὲν ἐμπρῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἀπ-
έσχοντο, δόντες δ' ἑαυτοὺς εἰς λῃστείας καὶ κατα-
δρομὰς πολλὴν τῆς πολεμίας χώραν κατέφθειραν.
3 ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος παραλαβὼν τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατ-
αικισάμενος ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας καὶ τοῦ νεκροῦ σῆψιν
λαβόντος ἀφεὶς αὐτὸν ἄταφον ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς
Πισιδικῆς. οἱ δὲ τῶν Τερμησσέων νέοι φυλάτ-
τοντες τὴν πρὸς τὸν ᾐκισμένον εὔνοιαν τό τε σῶμα
ἀνείλαντο καὶ λαμπρῶς ἐκήδευσαν. οὕτως ἡ τῆς
εὐεργεσίας φύσις, ἴδιόν τι φίλτρον ἔχουσα πρὸς
τοὺς εὖ πεποιηκότας, ἀμετάθετον διαφυλάττει τὴν
4 εἰς αὐτοὺς εὔνοιαν. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντίγονος ἀναζεύξας
ἐκ τῆς Πισιδικῆς προῆγεν ἐπὶ Φρυγίας μετὰ πάσης
τῆς δυνάμεως. ὡς δὲ κατήντησεν εἰς Κρητῶν
πόλιν, ἧκεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀριστόδημος ὁ Μιλήσιος
ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι Ἀντίπατρος μὲν τετελεύτηκεν,
ἡ δὲ τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονία καὶ τῶν βασιλέων ἡ
ἐπιμέλεια μεταπέπτωκεν εἰς Πολυπέρχοντα τὸν
5 Μακεδόνα. ἡσθεὶς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγονόσι μετέωρος
ἦν ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ διενοεῖτο τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν
ἔχεσθαι πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἡγεμονίας
μηδενὶ παραχωρεῖν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

48. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Ἀντιπάτρου περιπεσόντος ἀρρωστίᾳ βαρυτέρᾳ καὶ τοῦ γήρως συνεργοῦντος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόλυσιν τοῦ βίου Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν ἐξέπεμψαν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον Δη-

tion to Alcetas. At first they gained possession of 319 B.C.
part of the town and voted to set the buildings on fire and then, rushing from the town under arms and keeping to the mountains, to plunder the country that was subject to Antigonus; later, however, they changed their minds and refrained from burning the city, but they devoted themselves to brigandage and guerrilla warfare, ravaging much of the hostile territory. As for Antigonus, he took the body of Alcetas and maltreated it for three days; then, as the corpse began to decay, he threw it out unburied and departed from Pisidia. But the young men of Termessus, still preserving their goodwill for the vietim, reeovered the body and honoured it with splendid obsequies. Thus kindness in its very nature possesses the peculiar power of a love charm in behalf of benefactors, preserving unchanged men's goodwill toward them. Be that as it may, Antigonus set out from Pisidia and marched toward Phrygia with all his forces. When he had come to Cretopolis, Aristodemus of Miletus met him with the news that Antipater had died, and that the supreme command and the guardianship of the kings had fallen to Polyperchon the Macedonian. Being delighted at what had happened, he was carried away by hope and made up his mind to maintain a firm grip upon the government of Asia and to yield the rule of that continent to no one.

This was the situation in regard to Antigonus.[1]

48. As to Macedonia,[2] after Antipater had been stricken by a rather serious illness, which old age was tending to make fatal, the Athenians sent Demades as envoy to Antipater, a man who had the

[1] Continued in chap. 50. [2] Continued from chap. 39. 7.

μάδην, δοκοῦντα καλῶς πολιτεύεσθαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ἀξιοῦντες τὸν Ἀντίπατρον, καθάπερ ἦν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὡμολογηκώς, ἐξαγαγεῖν τὴν φρουρὰν
2 ἐκ τῆς Μουνυχίας. ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εὐνοϊκῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τὸν Δημάδην, ὕστερον δὲ Περδίκκου τελευτήσαντος καί τινων[1] ἐπιστολῶν εὑρεθεισῶν ἐν τοῖς βασιλικοῖς γράμμασιν, ἐν αἷς[2] ἦν ὁ Δημάδης παρακαλῶν τὸν Περδίκκαν κατὰ τάχος διαβαίνειν εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐπ' Ἀντίπατρον, ἀπηλλοτριώθη πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κεκρυμμένην
3 ἐτήρει τὴν ἔχθραν. διόπερ τοῦ Δημάδου κατὰ τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου δεδομένας ἐντολὰς ἀπαιτοῦντος τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν καὶ παρρησιωδέστερον ἀπειλήσαντος περὶ τῆς φρουρᾶς ὁ μὲν Ἀντίπατρος οὐδεμίαν δοὺς ἀπόκρισιν παρέδωκε τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς τιμωρίας τεταγμένοις αὐτόν τε τὸν Δημάδην καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
4 Δημέαν συμπρεσβεύοντα τῷ πατρί. οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἀπαχθέντες εἴς τι οἴκημα εὐτελὲς ἐθανατώθησαν διὰ τὰς προειρημένας αἰτίας.

Ὁ δ' Ἀντίπατρος ἐσχάτως ἤδη διακείμενος ἀπέδειξεν ἐπιμελητὴν τῶν βασιλέων Πολυπέρχοντα καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα, πρεσβύτατον σχεδὸν ὄντα τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνεστρατευμένων καὶ τιμώμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν, τὸν δ' υἱὸν Κάσανδρον χιλίαρχον καὶ δευτερεύοντα κατὰ τὴν

[1] *βασιλικῶν* after *τινων* deleted by Dindorf.
[2] *αἷς* Wurm : *οἷς*.

[1] For this mission of Demades cp. Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 14; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 30. 4-6; *Demosthenes*, 31. 3-4. He did not leave Athens before the end of June, 319 (*IG*, 2². 1. 383 b). Antipater's death, accordingly, may be placed late in that summer.

reputation of serving the city well in relation to Macedonia.[1] They requested Antipater that he, as had been agreed from the beginning, remove the garrison from Munychia. Antipater at first had been well disposed to Demades, but after the death of Perdiccas certain letters were found in the royal archives in which Demades invited Perdiccas to cross over swiftly into Europe against Antipater. At this Antipater was alienated from him and kept his enmity hidden. Therefore when Demades in accordance with the instructions given him by the people demanded the fulfilment of the promise and indulged rather freely in threats about the garrison, Antipater gave him no answer but delivered Demades himself and his son Demeas, who had accompanied his father as an envoy, to those ministers who were in charge of punishments. They were taken away to a common prison and put to death for the reasons mentioned above. 319 B.C.

Antipater, who was already at the point of death, appointed as guardian of the kings and supreme commander, Polyperchon, who was almost the oldest of those who had campaigned with Alexander and was held in honour by the Macedonians.[2] Antipater also made his own son Cassander chiliarch and second

[2] Polyperchon, one of the original bodyguard, became a commander of one battalion of the phalanx after Issus (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2. 12. 2) but did not rise above this rank during Alexander's life. Just before Alexander's death, when ten thousand veterans were sent back to Macedonia, Polyperchon accompanied them as lieutenant to Craterus (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7. 12. 4). When Antipater went to Asia against Perdiccas, he left Polyperchon in Macedonia as his representative (chap. 38. 6).

5 ἐξουσίαν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ χιλιάρχου τάξις καὶ προαγωγὴ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ τῶν Περσικῶν βασιλέων εἰς ὄνομα καὶ δόξαν προήχθη, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάλιν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μεγάλης ἔτυχεν ἐξουσίας καὶ τιμῆς, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων[1] Περσικῶν νομίμων ζηλωτὴς ἐγένετο. διὸ καὶ Ἀντίπατρος κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀγωγὴν τὸν υἱὸν Κάσανδρον ὄντα νέον ἀπέδειξε χιλίαρχον.

49. Οὐ μὴν ὁ Κάσανδρός γε τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς[2] τάξει συνευδοκήθη, δεινὸν ἡγούμενος εἰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ὁ μὴ προσήκων κατὰ γένος διαδέξεται καὶ ταῦθ' υἱοῦ γ' ὄντος τοῦ[3] δυναμένου πραγμάτων ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ δεδωκότος ἤδη πεῖραν ἱκανὴν ἀρετῆς
2 τε καὶ ἀνδρείας. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον εἰς ἀγρὸν βαδίσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων τούτοις[4] διελέγετο πολλὴν ἔχων εὐκαιρίαν καὶ σχολὴν περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίας· ἕκαστον δ' αὐτῶν ἐκλαμβάνων κατ' ἰδίαν προετρέπετο συγκατασκευάζειν αὐτῷ τὴν δυναστείαν καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις πείσας ἑτοίμους
3 ἐποιήσατο πρὸς τὴν κοινοπραγίαν. ἐξαπέστειλε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον λάθρᾳ πρεσβευτάς, τήν τε φιλίαν ἀνανεούμενος καὶ παρακαλῶν συμμαχεῖν αὐτῷ καὶ ναυτικὴν δύναμιν πέμψαι τὴν ταχίστην ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἡγεμόνας καὶ πόλεις ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς προτρεψομένους ἑαυτῷ συμμαχεῖν. αὐτὸς δὲ κυνηγίαν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας συστησάμενος ἀνύποπτον ἑαυτὸν ἐποίει τῆς ἀπο-
4 στάσεως. Πολυπέρχων δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν τῶν

[1] τῶν after ἄλλων deleted by Fischer.
[2] τοῦ πατρὸς deleted by Dindorf and Fischer.
[3] γ' ὄντος τοῦ added by Hertlein, cp. chap. 50. 2.

in authority.[1] The position and rank of chiliarch had first been brought to fame and honour by the Persian kings, and afterwards under Alexander it gained great power and glory at the time when he became an admirer of this and all other Persian customs. For this reason Antipater, following the same course, appointed his son Cassander, since he was young, to the office of chiliarch. 319 B.C.

49. Cassander, however, did not approve of the arrangement made by his father, regarding it as outrageous that one not related by blood should succeed to the command of his father, and this while there was a son who was capable of directing public affairs and who had already given sufficient proof of his ability and courage. First going with his friends into the country where he had plenty of opportunity and leisure, he talked to them about the supreme command; then, taking them apart one by one, he kept urging them privately to join him in establishing his dominion, and having won them by great promises, he made them ready for the joint enterprise. He also sent envoys in secret to Ptolemy, renewing their friendship and urging him to join the alliance and to send a fleet as soon as possible from Phoenicia to the Hellespont. In like manner he sent messengers to the other commanders and cities to urge them to ally themselves with him. He himself, however, by making arrangements for a hunt to last many days, avoided suspicion of complicity in the revolt. After Polyperchon had assumed the guardianship of the

[1] For the office of chiliarch cp. note on chap. 39. 7. For the appointment of Polyperchon and Cassander cp. Plutarch, *Phocion*, 31. 1.

[4] τε after τούτοις deleted by Dindorf.

βασιλέων ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ συνεδρεύσας μετὰ τῶν φίλων Ὀλυμπιάδα μὲν σὺν τῇ τῶν συνέδρων γνώμῃ μετεπέμπετο, παρακαλῶν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου υἱοῦ παιδὸς ὄντος παραλαβεῖν καὶ διατρίβειν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἔχουσαν προστασίαν· ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπιὰς ἐν τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις ἐτύγχανεν εἰς Ἤπειρον πεφευγυῖα διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον ἀλλοτριότητα.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

50. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν διαβοηθείσης τῆς Ἀντιπάτρου τελευτῆς ἀρχὴ πραγμάτων καινῶν ἐγίνετο καὶ κίνησις, τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίαις ὄντων ἰδιοπραγεῖν ἐπιβαλομένων. τούτων δὲ πρῶτος μὲν Ἀντίγονος προνενικηκὼς Εὐμενῆ περὶ Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τὰς μετ' αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις παρειληφώς, καταπεπολεμηκὼς δ' Ἀλκέταν καὶ Ἄτταλον περὶ τὴν Πισιδικὴν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν ἀνειληφώς, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τῆς Ἀσίας στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ ᾑρημένος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ μεγάλης δυνάμεως ἡγεμὼν ἀποδεδειγμένος πλήρης ἦν ὄγκου καὶ
2 φρονήματος. περιβαλλόμενος δὲ ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν ἔγνω μὴ προσέχειν μήτε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι μήτε τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς αὐτῶν· ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ αὐτὸν κρείττω δύναμιν ἔχοντα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν θησαυρῶν κύριον ἔσεσθαι, μηδενὸς ὄντος
3 τοῦ δυναμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀντιτάξεσθαι. εἶχε γὰρ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν ἑξακισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ μυρίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ τριάκοντα· χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἑτοίμας ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἄλλας δυνάμεις ἤλπιζεν, ἂν ᾖ χρεία, δυναμένης τῆς Ἀσίας χορηγεῖν ἀνεκλείπτως τοῖς στρατο-
4 λογουμένοις ξένοις τὰς μισθοφορίας. ταῦτα δὲ δια-

kings and had consulted with his friends, with their approval he summoned Olympias, asking her to assume the care of Alexander's son, who was still a child, and to live in Macedonia with regal dignity. It so happened that some time before this Olympias had fled to Epirus as an exile because of her quarrel with Antipater. 319 B.C.

This was the state of affairs in Macedonia.[1]

50. In Asia,[2] as soon as the death of Antipater was noised abroad, there was a first stirring of revolution, since each of those in power undertook to work for his own ends. Antigonus, who was foremost of these, had already won a victory over Eumenes in Cappadocia and had taken over his army, and he had also completely defeated Alcetas and Attalus in Pisidia and had annexed their troops.[3] Moreover, he had been chosen supreme commander of Asia by Antipater, and at the same time he had been appointed general of a great army,[4] for which reasons he was filled with pride and haughtiness. Already hopefully aspiring to the supreme power, he decided to take orders neither from the kings nor from their guardians; for he took it for granted that he himself, since he had a better army, would gain possession of the treasures of all Asia, there being no one able to stand against him. For at that time he had sixty thousand foot-soldiers, ten thousand horsemen, and thirty elephants; and in addition to these he expected to make ready other forces also if there should be need, since Asia could provide pay without end for the mercenaries he might muster. With these plans in mind he

[1] Continued and in part repeated in chap. 54.
[2] Continued from chap. 47. 5.
[3] Cp. chaps. 40, 44-45.
[4] Cp. chap. 39. 7.

νοηθεὶς Ἱερώνυμον μὲν τὸν τὰς ἱστορίας γράψαντα μετεπέμψατο, φίλον ὄντα καὶ πολίτην Εὐμενοῦς τοῦ Καρδιανοῦ τοῦ συμπεφευγότος εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ καλούμενον Νῶρα. τοῦτον δὲ μεγάλαις δωρεαῖς προκαλεσάμενος ἐξαπέστειλε πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς τὸν Εὐμενῆ, παρακαλῶν τῆς μὲν περὶ Καππαδοκίαν μάχης γενομένης πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιλαθέσθαι, γενέσθαι δὲ φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ λαβεῖν δωρεὰς πολλαπλασίους ὧν πρότερον ἦν ἐσχηκὼς καὶ σατραπείαν μείζονα καὶ καθόλου πρωτεύοντα τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ φίλων κοινωνὸν ἔσεσθαι τῆς ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς.
5 εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φίλων συναγαγὼν συνέδριον καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν ὅλων ἐπιβολῆς κοινωσάμενος διέγραψε τῶν ἀξιολόγων φίλων οἷς μὲν σατραπείας, οἷς δὲ στρατηγίας· πᾶσι δὲ μεγάλας ἐλπίδας ὑποθεὶς προθύμους κατεσκεύασε πρὸς τὰς ἰδίας ἐπιβολάς. διενοεῖτο γὰρ ἐπελθεῖν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ τοὺς μὲν προϋπάρχοντας σατράπας ἐκβαλεῖν, πρὸς δὲ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων καθιστάναι τὰς ἡγεμονίας.

51. Τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ' ὄντος Ἀρριδαῖος ὁ[1] τῆς ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Φρυγίας σατράπης, γνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἔκρινεν ἀσφαλισάμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν σατραπείαν καὶ τὰς ἀξιολογωτάτας πόλεις φρουραῖς περιλαμβάνειν. οὔσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπικαιροτάτης καὶ μεγίστης ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν μισθοφόρους πλείους τῶν μυρίων, Μακεδόνας δὲ χιλίους, Πέρσας δὲ τοξότας καὶ σφενδονήτας πεντακοσίους, ἱππεῖς

[1] ὁ added by Dindorf.

[1] Hieronymus had been sent by Eumenes to Antipater to discuss terms of surrender (chap. 42. 1).

summoned Hieronymus the historian, a friend and 319 B.C.
fellow citizen of Eumenes of Cardia, who had taken refuge in the stronghold called Nora.[1] After endeavouring to attach Hieronymus to himself by great gifts, he sent him as an envoy to Eumenes, urging the latter to forget the battle that had been fought against him in Cappadocia, to become his friend and ally, to receive gifts many times the value of what he had formerly possessed and a greater satrapy, and in general to be the first of Antigonus' friends and his partner in the whole undertaking.[2] Antigonus also at once called a council of his friends and, after he had made them acquainted with his design for gaining imperial power, assigned satrapies to some of the more important friends and military commands to others; and by holding up great expectations to all of them, he filled them with enthusiasm for his undertakings. Indeed he had in mind to go through Asia, remove the existing satraps, and reorganize the positions of command in favour of his friends.

51. While Antigonus was engaged in these matters, Arrhidaeus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, discovering his plan, decided to provide for the safety of his own satrapy and also to secure the most considerable cities by means of garrisons.[3] As the city of the Cyziceni was strategically most important and very large, he set out against it with an infantry force consisting of more than ten thousand mercenaries, a thousand Macedonians, and five hundred Persian

[2] Cp. chap. 53. 5.

[3] The Greek cities of Asia Minor, like those of Greece, were, at least in theory, autonomous allies of Macedon and were not subject to the satraps. For the siege of Cyzicus cp. *Marmor Parium* for 319/18.

δὲ ὀκτακοσίους, βέλη δὲ παντοδαπὰ καὶ καταπέλτας ὀξυβελεῖς τε καὶ πετροβόλους καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χορη-
2 γίαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀνήκουσαν πρὸς πολιορκίαν. ἄφνω δὲ προσπεσὼν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὸν πολὺν ὄχλον ἀπολαβὼν[1] ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας εἴχετο τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει καταπληξάμενος ἠνάγκαζε δέχεσθαι φρουράν. οἱ δὲ Κυζικηνοὶ παραδόξου τῆς ἐπιθέσεως γενομένης καὶ τῶν μὲν πλείστων ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπειλημμένων, ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων τῶν ὑπολελειμμένων ἀπαράσκευοι παντελῶς ὑπῆρχον πρὸς
3 τὴν πολιορκίαν. ὅμως δὲ κρίναντες ἀντέχεσθαι τῆς ἐλευθερίας φανερῶς μὲν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς διαλεξομένους τῷ Ἀρριδαίῳ λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν· ποιήσειν γὰρ πάντα τὴν πόλιν Ἀρριδαίῳ πλὴν τοῦ δέξασθαι φρουράν· λάθρᾳ δὲ τοὺς νέους ἀθροίζοντες καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς εὐθέτους ἐπιλεγόμενοι καθώπλιζον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεπλήρουν τῶν ἀμυνο-
4 μένων.[2] τοῦ δὲ Ἀρριδαίου βιαζομένου δέχεσθαι φρουρὰν ἔφησαν βούλεσθαι τῷ δήμῳ προσανενεγκεῖν περὶ τούτου. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ σατράπου λαβόντες ἀνοχὴν ταύτην τε τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν νύκτα βέλτιον παρεσκευάσαντο τὰ πρὸς τὴν
5 πολιορκίαν. ὁ δ' Ἀρριδαῖος καταστρατηγηθεὶς καὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον ἑαυτῷ προέμενος καιρὸν διεσφάλη τῆς ἐλπίδος· οἱ γὰρ Κυζικηνοὶ πόλιν ἔχοντες ὀχυρὰν καὶ παντελῶς εὐφύλακτον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς διὰ τὸ χερρόνησον αὐτὴν εἶναι καὶ θαλαττοκρατοῦντες
6 ῥᾳδίως ἠμύνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους. μετεπέμποντο δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βυζαντίων στρατιώτας καὶ βέλη καὶ τἄλλα τὰ χρήσιμα πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν· ὧν ἅπαντα

[1] ἀπολαβὼν Wesseling, καταλαβὼν Rhodoman: ἀναλαβών.
[2] Dindorf reads ἀμυνουμένων.

bowmen and slingers. He had also eight hundred 319 B.C.
horsemen, all kinds of missiles, catapults both for bolts and for stones, and all the other equipment proper for storming a city. After falling suddenly upon the city and intercepting a great multitude in the outlying territory, he applied himself to the siege and, by terrifying those who were in the city, tried to force them to receive a garrison. Since the attack had been unexpected, most of the Cyziceni had been cut off in the country; and with only a few people left in the city, they were completely unprepared for the siege. Deciding, nevertheless, to maintain their freedom, they openly sent envoys to confer with Arrhidaeus about raising the siege, saying that the city would do anything for him except receive a garrison; but secretly, after assembling the young men and selecting the slaves who were suitable for the purpose, they armed them and manned the wall with defenders. When Arrhidaeus insisted that the city admit a garrison, the envoys said that they wished to consult the people in regard to this. As the satrap agreed, they obtained a truce, and during that day and the following night they improved their preparations for withstanding the siege. Arrhidaeus, outwitted, missed his opportunity and was balked of his expected success; for since the Cyziceni possessed a city that was strong and very easy to defend from attacks by land thanks to its being a peninsula, and since they controlled the sea, they easily warded off the enemy. Moreover, they sent for soldiers from Byzantium and for missiles and whatever else was of use for withstanding the attack. When the people of

συντόμως καὶ προθύμως χορηγησάντων ἀνέλαβον
ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους εὐ-
7 θαρσεῖς κατέστησαν. εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ μακρὰς ναῦς
καθελκύσαντες παρέπλεον τὴν παραθαλάττιον καὶ
τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀναλαμβάνοντες ἀπεκόμιζον
εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ταχὺ δὲ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορήσαντες
καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιορκούντων ἀποκτείναντες
ἀπετρίψαντο τὴν πολιορκίαν. Ἀρριδαῖος μὲν οὖν
καταστρατηγηθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Κυζικηνῶν ἄπρακτος
ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν σατραπείαν.

52. Ἀντίγονος δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν τῶν Κυζικηνῶν
πόλιν πολιορκουμένην ἔτυχε μὲν ἐν Κελαιναῖς δια-
τρίβων, κρίνας δὲ τὴν κινδυνεύουσαν πόλιν ἰδίαν
κατασκευάσασθαι πρὸς τὰς μελλούσας ἐπιβολὰς
ἀπέλεξεν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως τοὺς ἀρίστους,
2 πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους. τού-
τους δὲ ἀναλαβὼν ἐν τάχει προῆγε βοηθήσων τοῖς
Κυζικηνοῖς. βραχὺ δὲ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστερήσας
φανερὰν μὲν ἔσχε τὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν εὔνοιαν, τῆς
3 δὲ ὅλης ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέτυχε. πρὸς δὲ Ἀρριδαῖον
ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτάς, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν
Ἑλληνίδα πόλιν σύμμαχον οὖσαν καὶ μηδὲν ἀδι-
κοῦσαν ἐτόλμησε πολιορκεῖν, ἔπειθ' ὅτι φανερός
ἐστιν ἀποστατήσων καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν ἑαυτῷ
δυναστείαν κατασκευαζόμενος· τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον
προσέταττε τῆς σατραπείας παραχωρεῖν καὶ μίαν
λαβόντα πόλιν εἰς καταβίωσιν τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν.
4 ὁ δ' Ἀρριδαῖος διακούσας τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ τὸ
τῶν λόγων ὑπερήφανον καταμεμψάμενος οὐκ ἔφη
παραχωρήσειν τῆς σατραπείας, τὰς δὲ πόλεις φρου-
ραῖς διαλαμβάνων πειρᾶσθαι[1] τοῖς ὅπλοις διαγωνί-
ζεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἀκολούθως δὲ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσι

Byzantium supplied all this quickly and willingly, the 319 B.C.
Cyziceni became confident and set themselves courageously against the danger. They also launched ships of war at once and, coasting along the shore, recovered and brought back those who were in the country. Soon they had plenty of soldiers, and after killing many of the besieging force, they rid themselves of the siege. Thus Arrhidaeus, outgeneralled by the Cyziceni, returned to his own satrapy without accomplishing anything.

52. Antigonus happened to be tarrying in Celaenae when he learned that Cyzicus was being besieged. Deciding to get possession of the endangered city in view of his forthcoming undertakings, he selected the best from all his army, twenty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. Taking these he set out in haste to aid the Cyziceni. He was a little too late, but he made his goodwill toward the city manifest, even though failing to gain his entire object. He sent envoys to Arrhidaeus, bringing against him these charges: first, that he had dared to besiege a Greek city that was an ally and not guilty of any offence; and second, that he clearly intended rebellion and was converting his satrapy into a private domain. Finally, he ordered him to retire from his satrapy and, retaining a single city as a residence, to remain quiet. Arrhidaeus, however, after listening to the envoys and censuring the arrogance of their words, refused to retire from his satrapy, and said that in occupying the cities with garrisons he was making the first move in his war to a finish with Antigonus. In accordance with this decision, after making the cities

[1] Dindorf, followed by Fischer, reads πειράσεσθαι.

τὰς πόλεις ἀσφαλισάμενος μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως
ἐξέπεμψε καὶ στρατηγὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς. τούτῳ δὲ
προσέταξε συνάπτειν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ
λύειν τὴν πολιορκίαν τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ
τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαντα ποιήσασθαι σύμμαχον.
5 Ἀντίγονος δὲ σπεύδων ἀμύνασθαι τὸν Ἀρριδαῖον
ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν δύναμιν τὴν διαπολεμήσουσαν,
αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἱκανὴν στρατιὰν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν
ἐπὶ Λυδίας, βουλόμενος ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἐν αὐτῇ
6 σατράπην Κλεῖτον. ὁ δὲ προϊδόμενος τὴν ἔφοδον
αὐτοῦ τὰς μὲν ἀξιολογωτάτας πόλεις φρουραῖς
ἠσφαλίσατο, αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Μακεδονίαν ἐξέπλευσε,
δηλώσων τοῖς τε βασιλεῦσι καὶ Πολυπέρχοντι τὴν
Ἀντιγόνου τόλμαν καὶ ἀπόστασιν καὶ ἀξιώσων
7 ἑαυτῷ βοηθεῖν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος τὴν μὲν Ἔφεσον
ἐξ ἐφόδου παρέλαβε συνεργησάντων αὐτῷ τινων
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καταπλεύσαντος εἰς
Ἔφεσον Αἰσχύλου τοῦ Ῥοδίου καὶ κομίζοντος ἐκ
Κιλικίας ἐν τέσσαρσι ναυσὶν ἀργυρίου τάλαντα
ἑξακόσια ἀπεσταλμένα εἰς Μακεδονίαν πρὸς τοὺς
βασιλεῖς παρείλετο, φάσκων ἑαυτῷ χρείαν ἔχειν
8 πρὸς τὰς τῶν ξένων μισθοφορίας. τοῦτο δὲ πράξας
φανερὸς ἐγένετο πρὸς ἰδιοπραγίαν ὡρμημένος καὶ
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἐναντιούμενος. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
Σύμην πολιορκήσας[1] ἐπῄει τὰς ἑξῆς πόλεις, ἃς μὲν
βίᾳ χειρούμενος, ἃς δὲ πειθοῖ προσαγόμενος.

53. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ περὶ Ἀντίγονον
μεταβιβάσομεν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τὰ συμβάντα
περὶ Εὐμενῆ. οὗτος γὰρ μεγάλαις καὶ παραδόξοις
μεταβολαῖς χρώμενος διετέλεσεν ἀεὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας
2 ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν μεταλαμβάνων. πρὸ μὲν
γὰρ τούτων τῶν καιρῶν συναγωνιζόμενος Περ-

[1] Σύμην πολιορκήσας Capps, Κύμην ἐκπολιορκήσας Madvig: συμπολιορκήσας RX, Fischer, συμπολιορκήσασθαι F.

secure, he sent away a part of his army and a general in command of it. He ordered the latter to get in touch with Eumenes,[1] relieve the fortress from siege, and when he had freed Eumenes from danger, make him an ally. Antigonus, who was anxious to retaliate upon Arrhidaeus, sent a force to carry on the war against him, but he himself with a sufficient army set out for Lydia, from which province he wished to expel the satrap, Cleitus. The latter, foreseeing the attack, secured the more important cities with garrisons, but he himself went by ship to Macedonia to reveal to the kings and to Polyperchon the bold revolt of Antigonus and to beg for aid. Antigonus took Ephesus at the first assault with the aid of certain confederates within the city. After this, when Aeschylus of Rhodes sailed to Ephesus conveying from Cilicia in four ships six hundred talents of silver that were being sent to Macedonia for the kings, Antigonus laid hands on it, saying that he needed it to pay his mercenaries. By doing this he made it clear that he had begun to act for his own ends and was opposing the kings. Then after storming Symê, he advanced against the cities in order, taking some of them by force and winning others by persuasion. 319 B.C.

53. Now that we have finished the activities of Antigonus, we shall turn our narrative to the fortunes of Eumenes. This man experienced great and incredible reversals of fortune, continually having a share in good and evil beyond expectation. For example, in the period preceding these events, when

[1] Cp. chap. 41.

δίκκᾳ τε καὶ τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἔλαβε σατραπείαν Καππαδοκίαν καὶ τοὺς συνορίζοντας ταύτῃ τόπους, ἐν οἷς μεγάλων δυνάμεων καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων
3 κυριεύσας περιβόητον ἔσχε τὴν εὐτυχίαν. Κρατερὸν μὲν γὰρ καὶ Νεοπτόλεμον, διωνομασμένους ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὰς ἀνικήτους τῶν Μακεδόνων ἔχοντας δυνάμεις, ἐνίκησε παρατάξει καὶ αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὴν
4 μάχην ἀνεῖλεν. δόξας δὲ ἀνυπόστατος εἶναι τηλικαύτης ἐπειράθη μεταβολῆς ὥστε ὑπ᾽ Ἀντιγόνου μεγάλῃ παρατάξει λειφθῆναι καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγων φίλων ἀναγκασθῆναι καταφυγεῖν εἴς τι χωρίον παντελῶς μικρόν. εἰς τοῦτο δ᾽ ἐγκλεισθεὶς καὶ περιληφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων διπλοῖς τείχεσιν οὐδένα βοηθὸν
5 ἔσχε τῆς ἰδίας συμφορᾶς. ἐνιαυσίου δ᾽ οὔσης τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπογινωσκομένης ἄφνω παράδοξος λύσις ἐφάνη τῶν ἀτυχημάτων. ὁ γὰρ πολιορκῶν τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ σπεύδων ἀνελεῖν Ἀντίγονος ἐκ μεταβολῆς παρεκάλεσεν αὐτὸν πρὸς κοινοπραγίαν καὶ λαβὼν διὰ τῶν ὅρκων τὰς πίστεις
6 τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλυσε.[1] μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον ἀνελπίστως διασωθεὶς τότε μὲν περὶ τὴν Καππαδοκίαν διέτριβεν ἀναλαμβάνων τοὺς προγεγονότας φίλους καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν χώραν πλανωμένους τῶν συνεστρατευκότων αὐτῷ πρότερον. ἀγαπώμενος δὲ διαφερόντως ταχὺ πολλοὺς ἔσχε κοινωνοὺς τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ πρὸς τὴν μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατείαν
7 ὑπακούοντας. τέλος δὲ ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις χωρὶς τῶν ἐν τῷ φρουρίῳ συμπεπολιορκημένων φίλων

[1] ἀπέλυσε Geer: ἀπελύθη.

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[1] Cp. chaps. 30-31. [2] That is, Nora. Cp. chaps. 40-42.
[3] Nepos (*Eumenes*, 5. 6-7) seems to reduce this time to about six months, but since the siege ends after news of the

he was fighting for Perdiccas and the kings, he had 319 B.C. received as his satrapy Cappadocia and the adjacent regions, in which as master of great armies and much wealth his good fortune became famous. For he defeated in a pitched battle Craterus and Neoptolemus, famous generals in command of the invincible forces of the Macedonians, and killed them on the field.[1] But although he won the reputation of being irresistible, he experienced such a change of fortune that he was defeated by Antigonus in a great battle and compelled to take refuge with a few friends in a certain very small fortress.[2] Shut up there and surrounded by the enemy with a double wall, he had no one to give him aid in his own misfortune. When the siege had lasted a year [3] and hope of safety had been abandoned, there suddenly appeared an unexpected deliverance from his plight; for Antigonus, who was besieging him and bent on destroying him, changed his plan, invited him to share in his own undertakings, and after receiving an oath-bound pledge, freed him from the siege.[4] Thus unexpectedly saved after a considerable time, he stayed for the present in Cappadocia, where he gathered together his former friends and those who had once served under him and were now wandering about the country. Since he was highly esteemed, he quickly found many men to share in his expectations and to enlist for the campaign with him. In the end, within a few days, in addition to the five hundred friends who had been besieged in the fortress with him, he

death of Antipater has reached Asia (Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 12. 1), the longer time is more probable.
[4] Cp. chap. 50. 4. For the terms of the oath and for the alterations that Eumenes made in it cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 12. 1-3; Nepos, *Eumenes*, 5. 7.

πεντακοσίων ἔσχε στρατιώτας ἐθελοντὴν[1] ὑπακούοντας πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων. τῆς τύχης δ' αὐτῷ συνεργούσης τηλικαύτην ἔλαβεν αὔξησιν ὥστε παραλαβεῖν τὰς βασιλικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ προστῆναι τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς τοὺς καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρχὴν τετολμηκότας. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν μικρὸν ὕστερον ἀκριβέστερον διέξιμεν ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις καιροῖς.

54. Νυνὶ δ' ἀρκούντως τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν διεληλυθότες μεταβησόμεθα πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην συντελεσθείσας πράξεις. Κάσανδρος γὰρ ἀποτετευχὼς τῆς κατὰ τὴν Μακεδονίαν ἡγεμονίας οὐκ ἔπτηξεν, ἀλλ' ἔκρινεν ἀντέχεσθαι ταύτης, αἰσχρὸν εἶναι διαλαμβάνων τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν
2 ὑφ' ἑτέρων διοικεῖσθαι. ὁρῶν δὲ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁρμὴν κεκλιμένην πρὸς τὸν Πολυπέρχοντα τῶν μὲν φίλων οἷς ἐπίστευε κατ' ἰδίαν προσδιαλεγόμενος ἐξέπεμπεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀνυπόπτως, αὐτὸς δ' ἐφ' ἡμέρας τινὰς σχολάσας ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας καὶ κυνήγια συνιστάμενος ἐγέννησε περὶ αὑτοῦ διάληψιν ὡς οὐκ ἀντιποιούμενος τῆς ἀρχῆς.
3 ὡς δ' εὐτρεπῆ πάντα ἦν αὐτῷ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ἔλαθεν ἀναζεύξας ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας. καταντήσας δ' εἰς τὴν Χερρόνησον κἀκεῖθεν ἀναζεύξας παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον. διαπλεύσας δ' εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἠξίου βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ, φήσας καὶ Πτολεμαῖον ἐπηγγέλθαι συμμαχήσειν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος προθύμως αὐτὸν προσδεξάμενος ἐπηγγείλατο πάντα συμπράξειν προθύμως αὐτῷ καὶ δύναμιν παραχρῆμα δώσειν πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικήν.

[1] ἐθελοντὴν Kaelker: ἐθελοντὶ MSS., editors.

[1] In chap. 41. 3 the number to take refuge on Nora is given as six hundred. According to Plutarch (*Eumenes*, 12. 3), Eumenes gathered almost a thousand horsemen after Nora.

had more than two thousand soldiers[1] who followed him of their own free will. With the aid of Fortune he gained so great an increase in power that he took over the royal armies and championed the kings against those who had boldly tried to end their rule. But we shall relate these events in more detail a little later in their proper place.[2] 319 B.C.

54. Now that we have said enough about affairs throughout Asia, we shall turn our attention to what had taken place at the same time in Europe.[3] Although Cassander had failed to gain the ruling position in Macedonia, he was not dismayed; but he determined to maintain his claim to it, holding it disgraceful that his father's office should be administered by others. Since he perceived that the favour of the Macedonians inclined to Polyperchon, he had further private conversations with the friends in whom he most trusted and sent them to the Hellespont without arousing suspicion; and he himself, by spending several days at leisure in the country and organizing a hunt, created the general opinion that he would not try to gain the office. When everything necessary for his departure was ready, however, he set out from Macedonia unobserved.[4] He came to the Chersonese and departing thence arrived at the Hellespont. Sailing across into Asia to Antigonus he begged him to aid him, saying that Ptolemy also had promised to be an ally. Antigonus eagerly received him and promised to co-operate with him actively in every way and to give him at once a force of infantry and a

[2] Cp. chaps. 58 ff.
[3] Continued from chap. 49. 4.
[4] Cp. *Marmor Parium* for 319/18.

4 ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττε προσποιούμενος διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντίπατρον φιλίαν συνεργεῖν, τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ βουλόμενος τοὺς περὶ Πολυπέρχοντα πολλοὺς[1] καὶ μεγάλους περισπασμοὺς ἔχειν, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀκινδύνως τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπέλθῃ καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἡγεμονίαν εἰς αὑτὸν περιστήσῃ.

55. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις κατὰ μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν Πολυπέρχων ὁ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμελητὴς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ Κασάνδρου προεώρα μὲν τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἐσομένου πολέμου, οὐδὲν δ' ἄνευ τῆς τῶν φίλων γνώμης κρίνων πράττειν συνήγαγε τούς τε ἡγεμόνας ἅπαντας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μακεδόνων τοὺς
2 ἀξιολογωτάτους. φανεροῦ δ' ὄντος ὅτι Κάσανδρος μὲν σωματοποιηθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων ἀνθέξεται διὰ τὸ τὰς μὲν αὐτῶν πατρικαῖς φρουραῖς φυλάττεσθαι, τὰς δ' ὑπ' ὀλιγαρχιῶν διοικεῖσθαι, κυριευομένας ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου φίλων καὶ ξένων, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις συμμαχήσειν τῷ Κασάνδρῳ Πτολεμαῖόν τε τὸν Αἰγύπτου κρατοῦντα καὶ Ἀντίγονον τὸν φανερῶς ἤδη γενόμενον ἀποστάτην τῶν βασιλέων, ἀμφοτέρους δὲ καὶ δυνάμεις μεγάλας καὶ χρημάτων ἔχειν πλῆθος, ἔτι δὲ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν καὶ πόλεων ἀξιολόγων κυριεύειν—προτεθείσης οὖν βουλῆς πῶς τούτοις πολεμητέον ἐστὶ καὶ πολλῶν καὶ ποικίλων λόγων περὶ τοῦ πολέμου ῥηθέντων ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεις ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς δ' ἐν αὐταῖς ὀλιγαρχίας καθεσταμένας ὑπ' Ἀντι-
3 πάτρου καταλύειν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν μάλιστα τὸν μὲν Κάσανδρον ταπεινώσειν, ἑαυτοῖς δὲ μεγάλην δόξαν
4 καὶ πολλὰς συμμαχίας ἀξιολόγους περιποιήσειν. εὐ-

fleet. In doing this he pretended to be aiding him 319 B.C. because of his own friendship for Antipater, but in truth it was because he wished Polyperchon to be surrounded by many great distractions, so that he himself might proceed against Asia without danger and secure the supreme power for himself.

55. Meanwhile in Macedonia, Polyperchon, the guardian of the kings, after Cassander had slipped away, foresaw the serious character of the war that was to be fought with him, and since he had made up his mind to do nothing without the advice of his friends, he called together all the commanders and the most important of the other Macedonians. It was clear that Cassander, reinforced by Antigonus, would hold the Greek cities against them, since some of the cities were guarded by his father's garrisons and others, dominated by Antipater's friends and mercenaries, were ruled by oligarchies, and since Cassander would also gain as allies both Ptolemy the ruler of Egypt, and Antigonus, who had already openly rebelled against the kings, and each of them possessed great armies and abundant wealth and was master of many nations and cities of consequence. After the question how to fight against these had been laid before them and many shrewd suggestions had been made about the war, it was decided to free the cities throughout Greece and to overthrow the oligarchies established in them by Antipater; for in this way they would best decrease the influence of Cassander and also win for themselves great glory and many considerable allies. At once, therefore, they

[1] πολλοὺς Wurm: πολέμους.

θὺς οὖν τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων παρόντας πρεσβευτὰς προσκαλεσάμενοι καὶ θαρρεῖν παρακαλέσαντες ἐπηγγείλαντο τὰς δημοκρατίας ἀποκαταστήσειν ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ τὸ κυρωθὲν δόγμα γράψαντες ἔδωκαν τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς, ὅπως κατὰ τάχος εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἐπανελθόντες ἀπαγγείλωσι τοῖς δήμοις τὴν τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοιαν. ἦν δὲ τὸ διάγραμμα τοιοῦτον.

56. "Ἐπειδὴ συμβέβηκε τοῖς προγόνοις ἡμῶν πολλὰ τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὐεργετηκέναι, βουλόμεθα διαφυλάττειν τὴν ἐκείνων προαίρεσιν καὶ πᾶσι φανερὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν ἡμετέραν εὔνοιαν ἣν ἔχοντες δια-
2 τελοῦμεν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας. πρότερον μὲν οὖν Ἀλεξάνδρου μεταλλάξαντος ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἡμᾶς καθηκούσης, ἡγούμενοι δεῖν ἐπαναγαγεῖν πάντας ἐπὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὰς πολιτείας ἃς Φίλιππος ὁ ἡμέτερος πατὴρ κατέστησεν, ἐπεστείλαμεν εἰς ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις περὶ του-
3 των. ἐπεὶ δὲ συνέβη, μακρὰν ἀπόντων ἡμῶν, τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὰς μὴ ὀρθῶς γινώσκοντας πόλεμον ἐξενεγκεῖν πρὸς Μακεδόνας καὶ κρατηθῆναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δυσχερῆ ταῖς πόλεσι συμβῆναι, τούτων μὲν τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἰτίους ὑπολάβετε γεγενῆσθαι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τιμῶντες τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς προαίρεσιν κατασκευάζομεν ὑμῖν εἰρήνην, πολιτείας δὲ τὰς ἐπὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ τἄλλα πράττειν κατὰ τὰ διαγράμματα
4 τὰ πρότερον ὑπ' ἐκείνων γραφέντα. καὶ τοὺς μεταστάντας ἢ φυγόντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἀφ' ὧν χρόνων Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν διέβη κατάγομεν· καὶ τοὺς ὑφ' ἡμῶν κατελθόντας πάντα τὰ αὑτῶν ἔχοντας καὶ

called together the envoys who were present from the cities, and after bidding them be of good cheer, they promised to re-establish democratic governments in the cities. As soon as they had drafted the decree that had been adopted, they gave it to the envoys, in order that they might quickly return to their native cities and report to their assemblies the goodwill that the kings and the generals entertained for the Greeks. The edict was in such terms as these : 319 B.C.

56. "Inasmuch as it has fallen to the lot of our ancestors to perform many acts of kindness to the Greeks, we wish to maintain their policy and to make evident to all the goodwill which we continue to have for that people. Formerly, indeed, when Alexander departed from among men and the kingship descended upon us, since we believed it necessary to restore all to peace and to the forms of government that Philip our sire established, we sent letters to all the cities in regard to these matters. But whereas it happened that, while we were far away, certain of the Greeks, being ill advised, waged war against the Macedonians and were defeated by our generals,[1] and many bitter things befell the cities, know ye that the generals have been responsible for these hardships, but that we, holding fast to the original policy, are preparing peace for you and such governments as you enjoyed under Philip and Alexander, and that we permit you to act in all other matters according to the decrees formerly issued by them. Moreover, we restore those who have been driven out or exiled from the cities by our generals from the time when Alexander crossed into Asia ; and we decree that those who are restored by us, in full possession of

[1] For the Lamian War cp. chaps. 8-18.

ἀστασιάστους καὶ ἀμνησικακουμένους ἐν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν πατρίσι πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ εἴ τι κατὰ τούτων ἐψήφιστο, ἄκυρον ἔστω, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἐφ' αἵματι ἢ
5 ἀσεβείᾳ κατὰ νόμον πεφεύγασι. μὴ κατιέναι δὲ μηδὲ Μεγαλοπολιτῶν τοὺς μετὰ Πολυαινέτου ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ φεύγοντας μηδ' Ἀμφισσεῖς μηδὲ Τρικκαίους μηδὲ Φαρκαδωνίους μηδὲ Ἡρακλεώτας· τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καταδεχέσθωσαν πρὸ τῆς τριακά-
6 δος τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ μηνός. εἰ δέ τινα τῶν πολιτευμάτων Φίλιππος ἢ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπέδειξαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπεναντία, παραγινέσθωσαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα διορθωσάμενοι τὰ συμφέροντα καὶ ἡμῖν καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι πράττωσιν. Ἀθηναίοις δ' εἶναι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ ἐπὶ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Ὠρωπὸν δὲ
7 Ὠρωπίους ἔχειν καθάπερ νῦν. Σάμον δὲ δίδομεν Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Φίλιππος ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ. ποιήσασθαι δὲ δόγμα πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας μηδένα μήτε στρατεύειν μήτε πράττειν ὑπεναντία ἡμῖν· εἰ δὲ μή, φεύγειν αὐτὸν καὶ γενεὰν καὶ τῶν ὄντων στέρεσθαι. προστετάχαμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτων καὶ
8 τῶν λοιπῶν Πολυπέρχοντι πραγματεύεσθαι. ὑμεῖς οὖν, καθάπερ ὑμῖν καὶ πρότερον ἐγράψαμεν, ἀκούετε τούτου· τοῖς γὰρ μὴ ποιοῦσί τι τῶν γεγραμμένων οὐκ ἐπιτρέψομεν."

57. Τούτου δὲ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἐκδοθέντος καὶ πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς πόλεις ἀποσταλέντος ἔγραψεν ὁ

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[1] Nothing seems to be known in regard to any of these exiles.

[2] The sixth month in the Macedonian year, normally falling just before the vernal equinox. The year must be 318, the edict itself being issued in the preceding summer or fall.

their property, undisturbed by faction, and enjoying 319 B.C.
a complete amnesty, shall exercise their rights as citizens in their native states; and if any measures have been passed to their disadvantage, let such measures be void, except as concerning those who had been exiled for blood guilt or impiety in accordance with the law. Not to be restored are the men of Megalopolis who were exiled for treason along with Polyaenetus, nor those of Amphissa, Tricca, Pharcadon, or Heraclea[1]; but let the cities receive back the others before the thirtieth day of Xanthicus.[2] If in any case Philip or Alexander published regulations that are inconsistent with each other, let the cities concerned present themselves before us so that, after bringing the provisions into harmony, they may follow a course of action advantageous both to us and to themselves. The Athenians shall possess everything as at the time of Philip and Alexander, save that Oropus shall belong to its own people as at present.[3] Samos we grant to Athens, since Philip our sire also gave it to them.[4] Let all the Greeks pass a decree that no one shall engage either in war or in public activity in opposition to us, and that if anyone disobeys, he and his family shall be exiled and his goods shall be confiscated. We have commanded Polyperchon to take in hand these and other matters. Do you obey him, as we also have written to you formerly; for if anyone fails to carry out any of these injunctions, we shall not overlook him."

57. When this edict had been published and dis-

[3] Oropus, geographically a part of Boeotia but throughout most of its history in the possession of Athens, had been assigned to Athens by Philip in 338 (Pausanias, 1. 34. 1). It seems to have become free as a result of the Lamian War.

[4] Cp. chaps. 8. 7, 18. 9.

Πολυπέρχων πρός τε τὴν Ἀργείων πόλιν καὶ τὰς λοιπάς, προστάττων τοὺς ἀφηγησαμένους ἐπ' Ἀντιπάτρου τῶν πολιτευμάτων φυγαδεῦσαι, τινῶν δὲ καὶ θάνατον καταγνῶναι καὶ δημεῦσαι τὰς οὐσίας, ὅπως ταπεινωθέντες εἰς τέλος μηδὲν ἰσχύσωσι
2 συνεργεῖν Κασάνδρῳ. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα, διατρίβουσαν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἔχθραν, ἵνα τὴν ταχίστην εἰς Μακεδονίαν καταντήσῃ καὶ παραλαβοῦσα τὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδίον ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ποιῆται, μέχρι ἂν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἔλθῃ καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν
3 βασιλείαν παραλάβῃ. ἔπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς Εὐμενῆ, γράψας ἐπιστολὴν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν βασιλέων ὀνόματος, ὅπως πρὸς μὲν Ἀντίγονον μὴ διαλύσηται τὴν ἀλλοτριότητα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀποκλίνας εἴτε βούλεται καταντᾶν εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ κοινοπραγῶν ἐπιμελητὴς εἶναι τῶν βασιλέων, εἴτε μᾶλλον προαιρεῖται μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας καὶ λαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ χρήματα διαπολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, φανερῶς ἤδη γεγενημένον ἀποστάτην τῶν βασιλέων. ἀποκαθιστάνειν δ' αὐτῷ τοὺς βασιλεῖς τήν τε σατραπείαν ἣν Ἀντίγονος ἀφῄρηται καὶ τὰς δωρεὰς ἁπάσας ὅσας πρότερον εἶχε κατὰ
4 τὴν Ἀσίαν. τὸ δ' ὅλον ἀπεφαίνετο μάλιστα πάντων πρέπειν Εὐμενῆ τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας κήδεσθαι καὶ φροντίζειν, ἀκολουθοῦντα τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις[1] πρὸς τὴν βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν. ἐὰν δὲ μείζονος δυνάμεως προσδέηται, καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἀναζεύξειν ἐκ Μακεδονίας μετὰ πάσης τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράχθη κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

[1] Fischer reads προπεπολιτευμένοις.

patched to all the cities, Polyperchon wrote to Argos and the other cities, ordering them to exile those who had been leaders of the governments in the time of Antipater—even to condemn certain of them to death and to confiscate their property—in order that these men, completely stripped of power, might be unable to co-operate with Cassander in any way. He also wrote to Olympias, the mother of Alexander, who was staying in Epirus because of her quarrel with Cassander, asking her to return to Macedonia as soon as possible, to take charge of the son of Alexander, and to assume responsibility for him until he should become of age and receive his father's kingdom. He also sent to Eumenes,[1] writing a letter in the name of the kings, urging him not to put an end to his enmity toward Antigonus, but turning from him to the kings, either to cross over to Macedonia, if he wished, and become a guardian of the kings in co-operation with himself, or if he preferred, to remain in Asia and after receiving an army and money fight it out with Antigonus, who had already clearly shown that he was a rebel against the kings. He said that the kings were restoring to him the satrapy that Antigonus had taken away and all the prerogatives that he had ever possessed in Asia. Finally he set forth that it was especially fitting for Eumenes to be careful and solicitous for the royal house in conformity with his former public services in its interest. If he needed greater military power, Polyperchon promised that he himself and the kings would come from Macedonia with the entire royal army. 319 B.C.

This is what happened in that year.

[1] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 13. 1-2.

58. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησιν Ἀρχίππου Ῥωμαῖοι κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Κόιντον Αἴλιον καὶ Λεύκιον Παπίριον. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Εὐμενὴς μὲν ἄρτι τὴν ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου πεποιημένος ἀποχώρησιν ἐκομίσατο τὰς ἐπιστολὰς τὰς ἀποσταλείσας ὑπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος, ἐν αἷς ἦν γεγραμμένον χωρὶς τῶν προειρημένων ὅτι πεντακόσια μὲν τάλαντα διδόασιν αὐτῷ δωρεὰν οἱ βασιλεῖς εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τῶν γεγενημένων περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλαττωμάτων καὶ διότι γράμματα ἀπέστειλαν οἱ βασιλεῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Κιλικίᾳ στρατηγοὺς καὶ θησαυροφύλακας, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰ πεντακόσια τάλαντα δῶσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρημάτων ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσῃ πρός τε τὰς ξενολογίας καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρείας, τούς τε τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων Μακεδόνων τρισχιλίων ἀφηγουμένους, ἵνα παραδῶσιν αὑτοὺς Εὐμενεῖ καὶ τἆλλα συμπράττωσι προθύμως, ὡς ἂν ἀποδεδειγμένῳ
2 στρατηγῷ τῆς ὅλης Ἀσίας αὐτοκράτορι. ἧκεν δὲ καὶ παρ' Ὀλυμπιάδος αὐτῷ γράμματα, δεομένης καὶ λιπαρούσης βοηθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ ἑαυτῇ· μόνον γὰρ ἐκεῖνον πιστότατον ἀπολελεῖφθαι τῶν φίλων καὶ δυνάμενον διορθώσασθαι τὴν ἐρημίαν
3 τῆς βασιλικῆς οἰκίας. ἠξίου δ' αὐτὸν ἡ Ὀλυμπιὰς συμβουλεῦσαι πότερον αὐτῷ δοκεῖ συμφέρειν μένειν αὐτὴν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν τοῖς αἰεὶ δοκοῦσι μὲν ἐπιμεληταῖς εἶναι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὴν

[1] Archippus was archon in 318/17. Livy (9. 15. 11) gives as consuls for 319, L. Papirius Cursor for the third time or L. Papirius Mugillanus (the former is more probable) and Q. Aulius Cerretanus for the second time. The latter had been consul in 323, where he is called Gaius Aelius by Diodorus (chap. 26. 1) and Q. Aemilius Cerretanus by Livy (8. 37. 1).

58. When Archippus was archon of Athens, the Romans elected Quintus Aelius and Lucius Papirius consuls.[1] While these held office Eumenes, just after he had made good his retreat from the fortress,[2] received the letters that had been dispatched by Polyperchon. They contained, apart from what has been told above, the statement that the kings were giving him a gift of five hundred talents as recompense for the losses that he had experienced, and that to effect this they had written to the generals and treasurers in Cilicia directing them to give him the five hundred talents and whatever additional money he requested for raising mercenaries and for other pressing needs. The letter also added that they were writing to the commanders of the three thousand Macedonian Silver Shields[3] ordering them to place themselves at the disposal of Eumenes and in general to co-operate wholeheartedly with him, since he had been appointed supreme commander of all Asia. There also came to him a letter from Olympias in which she begged and besought him to aid the kings and herself, saying that he alone was left, the most faithful of her friends and the one able to remedy the isolation of the royal house. Olympias asked him to advise her whether he thought it better for her to remain in Epirus and place no trust in those who were from time to time supposed to be guardians of the kings, but were in truth trying to transfer the kingdom to 318 B.C.

[2] Cp. chap. 53. 5. The activities of Eumenes described in the following chaps. (58-63) all belong to 318.

[3] The Silver Shields, heavy armed Macedonians picked for their valour, are first heard of in the battle at Arbela (Book 17. 57. 2). They were now old men, but tough and troublesome (Book 19. 41. 2, 43. 7, 48. 3-4). They had been sent to Cilicia as guard for the royal treasure.

βασιλείαν εἰς ἑαυτοὺς μεθιστῶσιν, ἢ ἐπανέρχεσθαι.
4 ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς πρὸς μὲν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παραχρῆμα ἀντέγραψε, συμβουλεύων κατὰ τὸ παρὸν μένειν ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, μέχρι ἂν ὁ πόλεμος λάβῃ τινὰ κρίσιν. αὐτὸς δ' ἀεὶ τὴν εὔνοιαν βεβαιοτάτην πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς τετηρηκὼς ἔκρινεν Ἀντιγόνῳ μὲν μὴ προσέχειν ἐξιδιαζομένῳ τὴν βασιλείαν, τοῦ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδὸς προσδεομένου βοηθείας διά τε τὴν ὀρφανίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἡγεμόνων πλεονεξίαν διέλαβεν ἁρμόζειν ἑαυτῷ πάντα κίνδυνον ἀναδέχεσθαι τῆς τῶν βασιλέων σωτηρίας ἕνεκα.

59. Εὐθὺς οὖν παραγγείλας τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀναζευγνύειν προῆγεν ἐκ Καππαδοκίας, ἔχων ἱππεῖς μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς δὲ πλείους τῶν δισχιλίων· οὐ γὰρ ἔσχεν ἀναστροφὴν προσδέξασθαι τοὺς ἀφυστεροῦντας τῶν ἐπηγγελμένων συστρατεύσεσθαι διὰ τὸ προσάγειν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς περὶ Μένανδρον, κωλύσοντας αὐτὸν ἐνδιατρίβειν τῇ Καππαδοκίᾳ,
2 πολέμιον γενόμενον[1] τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡ δύναμις αὕτη τρισὶν ὕστερον ἡμέραις παραγενομένη καὶ τῶν καιρῶν ὑστεροῦσα ἐπεβάλετο μὲν διώκειν τοὺς μετ' Εὐμενοῦς προάγοντας, οὐ δυναμένη δὲ καταλαβεῖν ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Καππαδοκίαν.
3 ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς συντόνους τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ποιησάμενος καὶ ταχὺ τὸν Ταῦρον ὑπερβαλὼν ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Κιλικίαν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγεμόνες Ἀντιγένης καὶ Τεύταμος, πειθαρχοῦντες ταῖς παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολαῖς, ἀπάντησιν ἐποιήσαντο τῷ Εὐμενεῖ μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος. ἀσπασάμενοι δὲ φιλοφρόνως καὶ συγχαρέν-

[1] γενόμενον Dindorf: γινόμενον.

themselves, or to return to Macedonia. Eumenes at once replied to Olympias, advising her to remain in Epirus for the present until the war should come to some decision. As for himself, since he had always observed the most unwavering loyalty toward the kings, he decided not to take orders from Antigonus, who was trying to appropriate the kingship for himself; but since the son of Alexander was in need of help because of his orphaned state and the greediness of the commanders, he believed that it was incumbent upon himself to run every risk for the safety of the kings. 318 B.C.

59. Immediately, therefore, Eumenes bade his men break camp and departed from Cappadocia with about five hundred horsemen and more than two thousand foot soldiers.[1] Indeed, he did not have time to wait for the laggards among those who had promised to join him, for a considerable army was drawing near, sent from Antigonus under the general Menander to prevent Eumenes from staying in Cappadocia now that he had become an enemy of Antigonus. In fact, when this army arrived three days later, although it had missed its opportunity, it undertook to follow those who had gone with Eumenes; but since it was not able to come up with them, it returned to Cappadocia. Eumenes himself quickly passed over the Taurus by forced marches and entered Cilicia. Antigenes and Teutamus, the leaders of the Silver Shields, in obedience to the letters of the kings came from a considerable distance to meet Eumenes and his friends.[2] After bidding him welcome and con-

[1] Cp. chap. 53. 7 and footnote.
[2] For Eumenes' reception by the Silver Shields and their commanders cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 13. 2-3; Justin, 14. 2. 6-12.

τες ἐπὶ τῷ διασεσῶσθαι παραδόξως αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων κινδύνων ἐπηγγέλλοντο πάντα συμπράξειν αὐτῷ προθύμως· οἵ τε ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες, ὄντες περὶ τρισχιλίους, ὁμοίως ἀπήντη-
4 σαν μετὰ φιλοφροσύνης τε καὶ ὁρμῆς. πάντες δ' ἐθαύμαζον τὸ τῆς τύχης εὐμετάβολον καὶ παράδοξον, ὁρῶντες τούς τε βασιλεῖς καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας ὀλίγῳ μὲν χρόνῳ πρότερον κατεγνωκότας Εὐμενοῦς καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ θάνατον, τότε δὲ ἐπιλαθομένους τῆς ἰδίας κρίσεως μὴ μόνον ἀθῷον ἀφεικότας τῆς τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς βασιλείας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ παραδεδωκότας.
5 καὶ τοῦτ' εὐλόγως ἔπασχον ἅπαντες οἱ τότε τὰς Εὐμενοῦς ἐπισκοπούμενοι περιπετείας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν λαβὼν ἔννοιαν τῆς κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἀνωμαλίας καταπλαγείη τὴν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τῆς τύχης παλίρροιαν; ἢ τίς ἂν ταῖς κατὰ τὴν εὐτυχίαν ἐξουσίαις πιστεύσας ἀναλάβοι φρό-
6 νημα μεῖζον τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀσθενείας; ὁ γὰρ κοινὸς βίος ὥσπερ ὑπὸ θεῶν τινος οἰακιζόμενος ἐναλλὰξ ἀγαθοῖς τε καὶ κακοῖς κυκλεῖται πάντα τὸν αἰῶνα. διόπερ παράδοξόν ἐστιν οὐκ εἰ γέγον' ἕν[1] τι παράλογον, ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ πᾶν ἐστι τὸ γινόμενον ἀνέλπιστον. διὸ καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν προσηκόντως ἄν τις ἀποδέξαιτο· τῇ γὰρ τῶν πράξεων ἀνωμαλίᾳ καὶ μεταβολῇ διορθοῦται τῶν μὲν εὐτυχούντων τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν, τῶν δ' ἀκληρούντων τὴν ἀψυχίαν.[2]

60. Ἃ καὶ τότε διανοούμενος Εὐμενὴς ἐμφρόνως τὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἠσφαλίσατο, προορώμενος τὴν τῆς

[1] γέγον' ἕν Capps: γέγονέν.
[2] ἀψυχίαν Post, ἀθυμίαν Wurm: ἀτυχίαν MSS., Dindorf, Fischer.

gratulating him on his unexpected escape from very 318 B.C.
great dangers, they promised to co-operate willingly with him in everything. The Macedonian Silver Shields, about three thousand in number, likewise met him with friendship and zeal. All wondered at the incredible fickleness of Fortune, when they considered that a little while before the kings and the Macedonians had condemned Eumenes and his friends to death, but now, forgetting their own decision, they not only had let him off scot-free of punishment, but also had entrusted to him the supreme command over the entire kingdom. And it was with good reason that these emotions were shared by all who then beheld the reversals in Eumenes' fortunes; for who, taking thought of the inconstancies of human life, would not be astonished at the alternating ebb and flow of fortune? Or who, putting his trust in the predominance he enjoys when Fortune favours him, would adopt a bearing too high for mortal weakness? For human life, as if some god were at the helm, moves in a cycle through good and evil alternately for all time. It is not strange, then, that some one unforeseen event has taken place, but rather that all that happens is not unexpected. This is also a good reason for admitting the claim of history, for in the inconstancy and irregularity of events history furnishes a corrective for both the arrogance of the fortunate and the despair of the destitute.

60. Eumenes, who at this time also kept these things in mind, prudently made his own position secure, for he foresaw that Fortune would change

τύχης καινοτομίαν. ὁρῶν γὰρ ἑαυτὸν μὲν ξένον
ὄντα καὶ μηδὲν προσήκοντα βασιλικαῖς ἐξουσίαις,
τοὺς δ᾽ ὑποταττομένους Μακεδόνας θάνατον αὐτοῦ
προκατεγνωκότας, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐν ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς
ἡγεμονίαις διατρίβοντας φρονήματος πλήρεις ὑπ-
άρχοντας καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων ὀρεγομένους,
ὑπέλαβεν ἔσεσθαι περὶ αὐτὸν συντόμως καταφρόνη-
σιν ἅμα καὶ φθόνον καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον τὸν περὶ
τοῦ ζῆν κίνδυνον· μηδένα γὰρ ποιήσειν ἑκουσίως
τὸ προσταττόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἡττόνων εἶναι δοκούν-
των μηδὲ καρτερήσειν δεσποζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν
2 ὀφειλόντων ἑτέροις ὑποτάττεσθαι. δοὺς δὲ αὑτῷ
περὶ τούτων λόγον πρῶτον μὲν διδομένων αὐτῷ
τῶν πεντακοσίων ταλάντων κατὰ τὰς τῶν βασι-
λέων ἐπιστολὰς εἰς ἀνάληψιν καὶ κατασκευὴν[1] οὐκ
ἔφησε λήψεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ προσδεῖσθαι τηλικαύτης
δωρεᾶς, ὡς ἂν μηδεμιᾶς αὐτοῦ σπεύδοντος τυχεῖν
3 ἡγεμονίας. καὶ γὰρ νῦν οὐχ ἑκουσίως αὐτὸν
ὑπακηκοέναι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν χρείαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν
βασιλέων συνηναγκάσθαι προσδέξασθαι τὴν τοιαύ-
την λειτουργίαν. καθόλου γὰρ διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν
τῆς στρατείας μηκέτι δύνασθαι φέρειν τὰς κακο-
παθίας καὶ πλάνας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδεμιᾶς ὑπο-
κειμένης ἀρχῆς ξένῳ καὶ τῆς ὁμοεθνοῦς τοῖς
4 Μακεδόσιν ἐξουσίας κεχωρισμένῳ. ἀπεφαίνετο δὲ
αὐτὸν ἑωρακέναι κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὄψιν παράδοξον,
ἣν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖσθαι δηλῶσαι πᾶσι· δοκεῖν γὰρ
αὐτὴν πολλὰ συνεργήσειν πρός τε ὁμόνοιαν καὶ τὸ
5 κοινῇ συμφέρον. δόξαι γὰρ κατὰ τὸν ὕπνον ὁρᾶν
Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα ζῶντα καὶ τῇ βασιλικῇ

[1] Fischer suspects the loss of one or more words after κατασκευὴν.

again. He perceived that he himself was a foreigner and had no claim to the royal power, that the Macedonians who were now subject to him had previously decreed his death, and that those who occupied the military commands were filled with arrogance and were aiming at great affairs. He therefore understood that he would soon be despised and at the same time envied, and that his life would eventually be in danger; for no one will willingly carry out orders given by those whom he regards as his inferiors, or be patient when he has over him as masters those who ought themselves to be subject to others. Reasoning about these matters with himself, when the five hundred talents for refitting and organization were offered him in accordance with the kings' letters, he at first refused to accept them, saying that he had no need of such a gift as he had no desire to attain any position of command. Even now, he said, it was not of his own will that he had yielded with respect to his present office, but he had been compelled by the kings to undertake this great task. In any case, owing to his continuous military service, he was no longer able to endure the hardships and journeyings, especially since no magistracy was in prospect for one who was an alien and hence was excluded from the power that belonged of right to the Macedonians. He declared, however, that in his sleep he had seen a strange vision, which he considered it necessary to disclose to all, for he thought it would contribute much to harmony and the general good.[1] He said that in his sleep he had seemed to see Alexander the king, alive and clad in his kingly garb, presiding over 318 B.C.

[1] For this device of Eumenes cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 13. 3-4; Nepos, *Eumenes*, 7. 2-3; Polyaenus, 4. 8. 2.

σκευῇ κεκοσμημένον χρηματίζειν καὶ τὰ προστάγματα διδόναι τοῖς ἡγεμόσι καὶ πάντα τὰ κατὰ
6 τὴν βασιλείαν διοικεῖν ἐνεργῶς. "διόπερ οἶμαι[1] δεῖν ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς γάζης κατασκευάσαι χρυσοῦν θρόνον, ἐν ᾧ τεθέντος τοῦ διαδήματος καὶ σκήπτρου καὶ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἐπιθύειν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ πάντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ πλησίον τοῦ θρόνου συνεδρεύειν καὶ τὰ προστάγματα λαμβάνειν ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς ζῶντος καὶ προεστηκότος τῆς ἰδίας βασιλείας."

61. Πάντων δ' ἀποδεξαμένων τοὺς λόγους ταχέως ἅπαντα κατεσκευάσθη τὰ πρὸς τὴν χρείαν, ὡς ἂν πολυχρύσου τῆς βασιλικῆς οὔσης γάζης. εὐθὺς οὖν κατασκευασθείσης μεγαλοπρεποῦς σκηνῆς ὅ τε θρόνος ἔχων τὸ διάδημα καὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἐτέθη καὶ τὰ ὅπλα οἷς εἰώθει χρῆσθαι. καὶ κειμένης ἐσχάρας ἐχούσης πῦρ ἐπέθυον ἐκ κιβωτίου χρυσοῦ πάντες οἱ ἡγεμόνες τόν τε λιβανωτὸν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐωδιῶν[2] τὰ πολυτελέστατα καὶ προσεκύνουν
2 ὡς θεὸν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον. ἀκολούθως δὲ τούτοις δίφρων πολλῶν κειμένων ἐκάθιζον ἐπὶ τούτων οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας ἔχοντες καὶ συνεδρεύοντες ἐβουλεύοντο περὶ τῶν ἀεὶ κατεπειγόντων. ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς χρηματιζομένοις ἴσον ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἡγεμόσιν ἀποδεικνύων καὶ πάντας ταῖς φιλανθρωποτάταις ὁμιλίαις δημαγωγῶν τόν τε καθ' ἑαυτοῦ φθόνον ἀπετρίψατο καὶ πολλὴν εὔνοιαν ἐν
3 τοῖς ἡγεμόσι πρὸς ἑαυτὸν κατεσκεύασεν. ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν βασιλέα δεισιδαιμονίας ἐνισχυού-

[1] οἶμαι MSS., Fischer : οἴεσθαι Dindorf.
[2] εὐωδιῶν Geer, cp. Book 1. 18. 6, θυμιαμάτων εὐωδῶν Fischer : εὐωδῶν.

a council, giving orders to the commanders, and 318 B.C. actively administering all the affairs of the monarchy. "Therefore," he said, "I think that we must make ready a golden throne from the royal treasure, and that after the diadem, the sceptre, the crown, and the rest of the insignia have been placed on it, all the commanders must at daybreak offer incense to Alexander before it, hold the meetings of the council in its presence, and receive their orders in the name of the king just as if he were alive and at the head of his own kingdom."

61. As all agreed to his proposal, everything needed was quickly made ready, for the royal treasure was rich in gold. Straightway then, when a magnificent tent had been set up, the throne was erected, upon which were placed the diadem, the sceptre, and the armour that Alexander had been wont to use. Then when an altar with a fire upon it had been put in place, all the commanders would make sacrifice from a golden casket, presenting frankincense and the most costly of the other kinds of incense and making obeisance to Alexander as to a god. After this those who exercised command would sit in the many chairs that had been placed about and take counsel together, deliberating upon the matters that from time to time required their attention. Eumenes, by placing himself on an equality with the other commanders in all the matters that were discussed and by seeking their favour through the most friendly intercourse, wore down the envy with which he had been regarded and secured for himself a great deal of goodwill among the commanders. As their reverence for the king grew stronger, they were all filled with

σης ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδων ἅπαντες ἐπληροῦντο, καθάπερ θεοῦ τινος αὐτῶν ἡγουμένου. ὁμοίως δὲ τούτοις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας Μακεδόνας πολιτευόμενος ἀποδοχῆς μεγάλης ἐτύγχανεν παρ' αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἄξιος ὢν τῆς τῶν βασιλέων φροντίδος.

4 Προχειρισάμενος δὲ τῶν φίλων τοὺς εὐθετωτάτους καὶ δοὺς χρήματα δαψιλῆ πρὸς τὴν ξενολογίαν ἐξέπεμψεν ὁρίσας ἀξιολόγους μισθούς. εὐθὺς δ' οἱ μὲν εἰς τὴν Πισιδικὴν καὶ Λυκίαν καὶ τὴν πλησιόχωρον παρελθόντες ἐξενολόγουν ἐπιμελῶς, οἱ δὲ τὴν Κιλικίαν ἐπεπορεύοντο, ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Κοίλην Συρίαν καὶ Φοινίκην, τινὲς δὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ
5 πόλεις. διαβοηθείσης δὲ τῆς ξενολογίας καὶ τῆς μισθοφορᾶς ἀξιολόγου προκειμένης πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκ τῶν[1] τῆς Ἑλλάδος πόλεων ἐθελοντὶ κατήντων καὶ πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν ἀπεγράφοντο. ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ χρόνῳ συνήχθησαν πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ δισχίλιοι χωρὶς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων καὶ τῶν μετ' Εὐμενοῦς κατηντηκότων.

62. Παραδόξου δὲ καὶ ταχείας τῆς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ γενομένης αὐξήσεως Πτολεμαῖος μὲν μετὰ στόλου πλεύσας εἰς Ζεφύριον τῆς Κιλικίας διεπέμπετο πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγεμόνας, παρακαλῶν μὴ προσέχειν τῷ Εὐμενεῖ, καθ' οὗ
2 πάντες Μακεδόνες θάνατον κατέγνωσαν. ὁμοίως δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν Κυΐνδοις φρουρίων τεταγμένους ἐξέπεμψε διαμαρτυρόμενος μὴ διδόναι μηδὲν τῶν χρημάτων Εὐμενεῖ, καὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο παρέξεσθαι. ἀλλὰ τούτῳ μὲν οὐδεὶς

[1] ἐκ τῶν Dindorf: τῶν ἐκ.

happy expectations, just as if some god were leading 318 B.C. them. And by conducting himself toward the Macedonian Silver Shields in a similar way, Eumenes gained great favour among them as a man worthy of the solicitude of the kings.

Eumenes selected the most able of his friends, gave them ample funds, and sent them out to engage mercenaries, establishing a notable rate of pay. Some of them went at once into Pisidia, Lycia, and the adjacent regions, where they zealously enrolled troops. Others travelled through Cilicia, others through Coelê Syria and Phoenicia, and some through the cities in Cyprus. Since the news of this levy spread widely and the pay offered was worthy of consideration, many reported of their own free will even from the cities of Greece and were enrolled for the campaign. In a short time more than ten thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horsemen were gathered together, not including the Silver Shields and those who had accompanied Eumenes.

62. At Eumenes' unexpected and sudden rise to power, Ptolemy, who had sailed to Zephyrium in Cilicia with a fleet, kept sending to the commanders of the Silver Shields, exhorting them not to pay any attention to Eumenes, whom all the Macedonians had condemned to death.[1] Likewise he sent to those who had been placed in command of the garrisons in Cyinda,[2] protesting solemnly against their giving any of the money to Eumenes, and promised to guarantee their safety. But no one paid any attention to him

[1] Cp. chap. 37. 2. For the various plots against Eumenes cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 8. 6, 13. 6, 16. 1.

[2] Called Quinda (Κουΐνδα) in Book 20. 108. 2, a fortress in Cilicia where the royal treasure had been deposited. The exact location is unknown.

προσεῖχε διὰ τὸ τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τὸν ἐπιμελητὴν
αὐτῶν Πολυπέρχοντα, ἔτι δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδα τὴν
Ἀλεξάνδρου μητέρα γεγραφέναι πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν
Εὐμενεῖ, ὡς ὄντι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοκράτορι στρα-
3 τηγῷ. μάλιστα δ' Ἀντιγόνῳ δυσηρέστει τότε τὰ
περὶ τὴν Εὐμενοῦς προαγωγὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς
περὶ αὐτὸν συνισταμένης ἐξουσίας· ὑπελάμβανε γὰρ
ὑπὸ τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος τοῦτον ἑαυτῷ κατασκευά-
ζεσθαι μέγιστον ἀντίπαλον ἀποστάτῃ γεγονότι τῆς
4 βασιλείας. διόπερ κρίνας ἐπιβουλὴν συστήσασθαι
κατ' αὐτοῦ προεχειρίσατο τῶν φίλων Φιλώταν καὶ
τούτῳ μὲν ἔδωκεν ἐπιστολὴν γεγραμμένην πρός τε
τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ'
Εὐμενοῦς Μακεδόνας, συνεξέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ
ἄλλους τριάκοντα Μακεδόνας τῶν περιέργων καὶ
λάλων, οἷς ἦν προστεταγμένον κατ' ἰδίαν ἐντυχεῖν
τοῖς ἡγεμόσι τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων Ἀντιγένει καὶ
Τευτάμῳ καὶ διὰ τούτων συστήσασθαί τινα κατ'
Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλήν, δωρεάς τε μεγάλας ἐπαγγελ-
λομένους[1] καὶ σατραπείας μείζονας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων τοῖς γνωριζομένοις καὶ πολίταις
ἐντυγχάνειν καὶ διαφθείρειν δωρεαῖς πρὸς τὴν κατ'
5 Εὐμενοῦς ἐπιβουλήν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων οὐδένα
πεῖσαι κατίσχυσαν, Τεύταμος δὲ ὁ τῶν ἀργυρ-
ασπίδων ἡγεμὼν διαφθαρεὶς ἐπεβάλετο καὶ τὸν
συνάρχοντα Ἀντιγένην πεῖσαι κοινωνῆσαι τῆς
6 πράξεως. ὁ δ' Ἀντιγένης, συνέσει καὶ πίστεως
βεβαιότητι διαφέρων, οὐ μόνον ἀντεῖπεν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ μετέπεισε τὸν προδιεφθαρμένον. ἐδίδαξε γὰρ
αὐτὸν συμφέρειν ζῆν τὸν Εὐμενῆ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸν
7 Ἀντίγονον· ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ εἰς πλεῖον ἰσχύ-

[1] ἐπαγγελλομένους Reiske: ἐπαγγελλόμενος.

because the kings and Polyperchon their guardian and also Olympias, the mother of Alexander, had written to them that they should serve Eumenes in every way, since he was the commander-in-chief of the kingdom. Antigonus in particular was displeased with the advancement of Eumenes and the magnitude of the power that was being concentrated in him; for he assumed that Eumenes was being made ready by Polyperchon as the strongest antagonist of himself now that he had become a rebel against the monarchy. Deciding, therefore, to organize a plot against Eumenes, he selected Philotas, one of his friends, and gave him a letter that he had written to the Silver Shields and to the other Macedonians with Eumenes. With him he also sent thirty other Macedonians, meddlesome and talkative persons, whom he instructed to meet separately with Antigenes and Teutamus, the commanders of the Silver Shields, and through them to organize some plot against Eumenes by promising great gifts and greater satrapies. Antigonus also told them to get in touch with their acquaintances and fellow citizens among the Silver Shields and secure their support for the plot against Eumenes by corrupting them with bribes. Now although they were unable to persuade any others, Teutamus, the leader of the Silver Shields, was bribed and undertook to persuade his fellow commander, Antigenes, to share in the enterprise. Antigenes, however, who was a man of great shrewdness and trustworthiness, not only argued against this, but he even won back the man who had been bribed; for he showed him that it was to his advantage that Eumenes rather than Antigonus should remain alive. The latter, indeed, if he became more 318 B.C.

σαντα παρελεῖσθαι τὰς σατραπείας αὐτῶν καὶ
ἀντικαταστήσειν ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων, Εὐμενῆ δὲ
ξένον ὄντα μηδέποτ' ἰδιοπραγῆσαι τολμήσειν, ἀλλὰ
στρατηγὸν ὄντα φίλοις αὐτοῖς χρήσεσθαι καὶ συμ-
πράξασι φυλάξειν αὐτοῖς τὰς σατραπείας, τάχα δὲ
καὶ ἄλλας προσδώσειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν τὰς κατ' Εὐ-
μενοῦς ἐπιβουλὰς κατασκευάζοντες ἀπέτυχον τὸν
προειρημένον τρόπον.

63. Τοῦ δὲ Φιλώτου τὴν κοινὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀνα-
δόντος τοῖς ἡγεμόσι συνήχθησαν οἵ τε ἀργυρ-
άσπιδες καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Μακεδόνες κατ' ἰδίαν ἄνευ
τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν προσέταξαν ἀνα-
2 γνωσθῆναι. ἦν δ' ἐν αὐτῇ γεγραμμένη κατηγορία
μὲν τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς, παράκλησις δὲ τῶν Μακεδό-
νων συλλαβεῖν τὸν Εὐμενῆ ταχέως καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι·
ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα μὴ πράξωσιν, ὅτι μετὰ πάσης τῆς
δυνάμεως ἥξει πολεμήσων αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς μὴ
πειθαρχοῦσι τὴν προσήκουσαν ἐπιθήσει τιμωρίαν.
3 ἀναγνωσθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς εἰς πολλὴν
ἀπορίαν ἐνέπεσον οἵ τε ἡγεμόνες καὶ οἱ Μακε-
δόνες πάντες· ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς
βασιλεῖς ἀποκλίναντας ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου τιμωρίας
τυχεῖν ἢ πειθαρχήσαντας Ἀντιγόνῳ ὑπὸ Πολυπέρ-
4 χοντος καὶ τῶν βασιλέων κολασθῆναι. τοιαύτης δὲ
συγχύσεως ἐπεχούσης τὰ πλήθη ἧκεν ὁ Εὐμενὴς
καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἀναγνοὺς παρεκάλεσε τοὺς
Μακεδόνας πράττειν τὰ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι δεδογμένα,
5 τῷ δὲ ἀποστάτῃ γεγονότι μὴ προσέχειν. πολλὰ
δὲ διαλεχθεὶς οἰκεῖα τῆς ὑποθέσεως οὐ μόνον αὐ-
τὸς ἀπελύθη τῶν ἐνεστώτων κινδύνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος εἰς εὔνοιαν μείζονα τῆς προϋπαρχούσης
6 παρεστήσατο. οὗτος μὲν οὖν πάλιν εἰς ἀνελπί-

powerful, would take away their satrapies and set up some of his friends in their places; Eumenes, however, since he was a foreigner, would never dare to advance his own interests, but, remaining a general, would treat them as friends and, if they co-operated with him, would protect their satrapies for them and perhaps give them others also. So those who were contriving plots against Eumenes met with failure in the way described. 318 B.C.

63. When, however, Philotas gave the commanders the letter that had been addressed to all in common, the Silver Shields and the other Macedonians came together privately without Eumenes and ordered the letter to be read. In it Antigonus had written an accusation against Eumenes and had exhorted the Macedonians to seize Eumenes quickly and put him to death. If they should not do this, he said that he would come with his whole army to wage war against them, and that upon those who refused to obey he would inflict suitable punishment. At the reading of this letter the commanders and all the Macedonians found themselves in great perplexity, for it was necessary for them either to side with the kings and receive punishment from Antigonus, or to obey Antigonus and be chastised by Polyperchon and the kings. While the troops were in this confused state, Eumenes entered and, after reading the letter, urged the Macedonians to follow the decrees of the kings and not listen to one who had become a rebel. He discussed many matters pertinent to the subject and not only freed himself from the imminent danger but also gained greater favour with the crowd than before. Thus once more Eumenes, after falling

στους κινδύνους ἐμπεσὼν παραδόξως ἰσχυροτέραν κατεσκεύασε τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν δύναμιν. διὸ καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις παραγγείλας ἀναζευγνύειν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Φοινίκης, σπεύδων τὰς ναῦς ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν πόλεων ἀθροῖσαι καὶ στόλον ἀξιόλογον κατασκευάσαι, ὅπως Πολυπέρχων μὲν προσλαβόμενος τὰς ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης ναῦς θαλαττοκρατῇ καὶ δύνηται διαβιβάζειν ἀσφαλῶς, ὅταν βούληται, τὰς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπ' Ἀντίγονον. οὗτος μὲν οὖν ἐν Φοινίκῃ διέτριβε κατασκευαζόμενος τὴν ναυτικὴν δύναμιν.

64. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Νικάνωρ ὁ τὴν Μουνυχίαν κατέχων ἀκούων τὸν μὲν Κάσανδρον ἐκ Μακεδονίας κεχωρίσθαι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον, τὸν δὲ Πολυπέρχοντα προσδόκιμον εἶναι συντόμως ἥξειν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἠξίου τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διαφυλάττειν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Κάσαν-
2 δρον εὔνοιαν. οὐθενὸς δὲ αὐτῷ προσέχοντος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν φρουρὰν πάντων οἰομένων δεῖν ἐξάγειν τὴν ταχίστην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρακρουσάμενος τὸν δῆμον ἔπεισεν ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐπισχεῖν, πράξειν γὰρ αὐτὸν τὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπί τινας ἡμέρας ἡσυχίαν ἐχόντων ἔλαθε νυκτὸς κατ' ὀλίγους[1] στρατιώτας εἰσαγαγὼν εἰς τὴν Μουνυχίαν, ὥστε γενέσθαι δύναμιν ἀξιόχρεων τηρεῖν τὴν φυλακὴν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς
3 ἐπιβαλλομένους πολιορκεῖν τὴν φρουράν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι γνόντες τὸν Νικάνορα μηδὲν ὑγιὲς πράττοντα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς βασιλέας[2] καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα

[1] *κατ' ὀλίγους* MSS. and editors, *οὐκ ὀλίγους* Wurm.
[2] *τοὺς βασιλέας* Fischer, cp. chap. 65. 1 : *τὸν βασιλέα.*

[1] Continued in chap. 73. 1.

into unforeseen danger, unexpectedly made his own power greater. Therefore he ordered the soldiers to break camp and led them to Phoenicia, desiring to gather ships from all the cities and assemble a considerable fleet, so that Polyperchon, by the addition of the Phoenician ships, might have control of the sea and be able to transport the Macedonian armies safely to Asia against Antigonus whenever he wished. Accordingly he remained in Phoenicia preparing the naval force.[1] 318 B.C.

64. Meanwhile Nicanor, the commander of Munychia,[2] on hearing that Cassander had gone from Macedonia to Antigonus and that Polyperchon was expected to come shortly into Attica with his army, asked the Athenians to continue to favour Cassander. No one approved, but all thought that it was necessary to get rid even of the garrison as soon as possible. Nicanor therefore at first deceived the Assembly and persuaded them to wait for a few days, saying that Cassander would do what was for the advantage of the city; but then, while the Athenians remained inactive for a short time, he secretly introduced soldiers into Munychia by night, a few at a time, so that there was a force there strong enough to maintain the guard and fight against any who undertook to besiege the garrison. The Athenians, when they found out that Nicanor was not acting honourably with them, sent an embassy to the kings and to Polyperchon, asking

[2] Immediately after Antipater's death, Cassander appointed Nicanor commander of Munychia in place of Menyllus (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 31. 1 ; cp. chap. 18. 5 above). For Nicanor cp. note on chap. 39. 6. The following events to the death of Phocion (chap. 67. 6) belong to the winter of 319/18. For events in Greece to the death of Phocion cp. Plutarch, *Phocion*, 31-37 ; Nepos, *Phocion*, 3-4.

πρεσβείαν ἐξέπεμψαν, ἀξιοῦντες βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς
κατὰ τὸ διάγραμμα τὸ γραφὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλ-
λήνων αὐτονομίας· αὐτοὶ δὲ πλεονάκις ἐκκλησίαν
συναγαγόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς χρηστέον εἴη περὶ
4 τοῦ πρὸς Νικάνορα πολέμου. τούτων δ' ἔτι περὶ
ταῦτ' ἀσχολουμένων ὁ Νικάνωρ, πολλοὺς ἐξενολο-
γηκώς, λάθρᾳ νυκτὸς ἐξαγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας
κατελάβετο τὰ τείχη τοῦ Πειραιέως καὶ τοῦ λιμένος
τὰ κλεῖθρα. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν μὲν Μουνυχίαν
οὐκ ἀπειληφότες, τὸν δὲ Πειραιᾶ προσαποβεβλη-
5 κότες χαλεπῶς ἔφερον. διόπερ ἑλόμενοι πρέσβεις
τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ φιλίαν ἐχόντων πρὸς
Νικάνορα Φωκίωνα τὸν Φώκου καὶ Κόνωνα τὸν
Τιμοθέου καὶ Κλέαρχον τὸν Ναυσικλέους ἐξαπ-
έστειλαν, ἐγκαλοῦντες μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις,
ἀξιοῦντες δὲ ἀποδοῦναι τὴν αὐτονομίαν αὐτοῖς κατὰ
6 τὸ γεγενημένον διάταγμα. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ ἀπο-
κρίσεις ἔδωκε πρεσβεύειν αὐτοὺς πρὸς Κάσανδρον·
ὑπ' ἐκείνου γὰρ καθεσταμένον φρούραρχον μηδαμῶς
ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἰδιοπραγεῖν.

65. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἧκεν ἐπιστολὴ Νικάνορι παρ' Ὀλυμπιάδος, ἐν ᾗ προσέταττεν ἀποδοῦναι Ἀθηναίοις τήν τε Μουνυχίαν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. ὁ δὲ Νικάνωρ ἀκούων ὅτι μέλλουσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς καὶ Πολυπέρχων κατάγειν εἰς Μακεδονίαν τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τοῦ τε παιδίου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἐκείνῃ παραδιδόναι καὶ τὴν προϋπάρχουσαι ἀποδοχὴν καὶ τιμὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῶντος ἀποκαθιστάναι Ὀλυμπιάδι, φοβηθεὶς ἐπηγγείλατο μὲν παραδώσειν, ἀεὶ δὲ προφάσεις τινὰς ποιούμενος παρῆγε

[1] Cp. chaps. 55, 56.

[2] Timotheüs was a leading statesman of Athens in the second quarter of the century. His father, Conon, had restored the walls of the Piraeus in 393 B.C. Nausicles was a statesman of the second rank and a supporter of Demosthenes.

them to send aid in accordance with the edict that had 318 B.C. been issued concerning the autonomy of the Greeks [1]; and they themselves, holding frequent meetings of the Assembly, considered what ought to be done about the war with Nicanor. While they were still engaged in this discussion, Nicanor, who had hired many mercenaries, made a secret sally by night and took the walls of the Piraeus and the harbour boom. The Athenians, who not only had failed to recapture Munychia but also had lost the Piraeus, were angry. They therefore selected as envoys some of the prominent citizens who were friends of Nicanor—Phocion the son of Phocus, Conon the son of Timotheüs,[2] and Clearchus the son of Nausicles—and sent them to Nicanor to complain about what he had done and also to request him to restore their autonomy according to the edict that had been issued. Nicanor, however, answered that they should direct their mission to Cassander, since as a garrison commander appointed by Cassander he himself had no power of independent action.

65. At this time a letter came to Nicanor from Olympias, in which she ordered him to restore Munychia and the Piraeus to the Athenians. Since Nicanor had heard that the kings and Polyperchon were going to bring Olympias back to Macedonia, entrust to her the upbringing of the boy, and re-establish her in the state and honour that she had enjoyed during the lifetime of Alexander,[3] he was frightened and promised to make the restoration, but he avoided the fulfilment of the promise by constantly making excuses.

[3] Cp. chap. 57. 2.

2 τὴν πρᾶξιν. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πεπολυωρηκότες ἐν
τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ νομί-
σαντες τὰς μὲν ταύτῃ δεδογμένας[1] τιμὰς ὄντως
γεγονέναι, τὴν δὲ ἀπόληψιν τῆς αὐτονομίας διὰ
ταύτης ἐλπίζοντες ἀκινδύνως ἔσεσθαι περιχαρεῖς
3 ἦσαν. ἀτελέστων δ' ἔτι τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν οὐσῶν
ἧκεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυπέρχοντος υἱὸς μετὰ
δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἀθηναῖοι
διέλαβον αὐτὸν ἥκειν ἀποκαταστήσοντα τῷ δήμῳ
τήν τε Μουνυχίαν καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς
οὐχ οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ παρα-
ληψόμενος ἀμφότερα παρῆν[2] πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
4 χρείας. τῶν γὰρ Ἀντιπάτρῳ γεγονότων φίλων
τινές, ὧν[3] ὑπῆρχον καὶ οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα, φοβού-
μενοι τὰς ἐκ τῶν νόμων τιμωρίας ὑπήντησαν τῷ
Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ διδάξαντες τὸ συμφέρον ἔπεισαν
αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ κατέχειν τὰ φρούρια καὶ μὴ παραδιδόναι
τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, μέχρι ἂν ὁ Κάσανδρος καταπολε-
5 μηθῇ. ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος πλησίον τοῦ Πειραιῶς
καταστρατοπεδεύσας τοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίους οὐ παρ-
ελάμβανε πρὸς τὰς ἐντεύξεις τὰς πρὸς τὸν Νικά-
νορα, ἰδίᾳ δὲ συνιὼν εἰς λόγους καὶ ἐν ἀπορρή-
τοις διαπραττόμενος φανερὸς ἦν ἀδικεῖν μέλλων
6 τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὁ δὲ δῆμος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συν-
ελθὼν τὰς μὲν ὑπαρχούσας ἀρχὰς κατέλυσεν, ἐκ δὲ
τῶν δημοτικωτάτων τὰ ἀρχεῖα καταστήσας τοὺς
ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας γεγονότας ἄρχοντας κατεδίκασε
τοὺς μὲν θανάτῳ, τοὺς δὲ φυγῇ καὶ δημεύσει τῆς

[1] Dindorf reads δεδομένας.
[2] παρῆν added by Reiske, followed by Fischer in his corrigenda. Dindorf indicates a lacuna after χρείας.
[3] ὧν added by Reiske.

The Athenians, who had had great respect for Olympias in former times and now regarded the honours that had been decreed for her as actually in effect, were filled with joy, hoping that through her favour the recovery of their autonomy might be accomplished without risk. While the promise was still unfulfilled, however, Alexander the son of Polyperchon arrived in Attica with an army. The Athenians, indeed, believed that he had come to give back Munychia and the Piraeus to the people; this, however, was not the truth, but on the contrary he had come from interested motives to take both of them himself for use in the war. Now certain Athenians who had been friends of Antipater, of whom Phocion was one, fearing the punishment due them in accordance with the laws, went to Alexander and, by showing him what was to his own advantage, persuaded him to hold the forts for himself and not deliver them to the Athenians until after the defeat of Cassander. Alexander, who had pitched his camp near the Piraeus, did not admit the Athenians to his parley with Nicanor; but by conferring with him in private and negotiating secretly, he made it evident that he did not intend to deal fairly with the Athenians. The people, coming together in an assembly, removed from office the existing magistrates, filling the offices with men from the extreme democrats[1]; and they condemned those who had held office under the oligarchy, decreeing the death penalty for some of them, exile and confiscation of 318 B.C.

[1] In March, 318 B.C.

οὐσίας· ἐν οἷς ἦν καὶ Φωκίων ὁ ἐπ᾿ Ἀντιπάτρου τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκώς.

66. Οὗτοι μὲν οὖν ἐκβληθέντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως κατέφυγον πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος καὶ διὰ τούτου τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτοῖς πορίζειν ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο. προσδεχθέντες δὲ ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ φιλοφρόνως γράμματα ἔλαβον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Πολυπέρχοντα, ὅπως μηδὲν πάθωσιν οἱ περὶ Φωκίωνα, τἀκείνου πεφρονηκότες καὶ νῦν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι
2 πάντα συμπράξειν. ἀποστείλαντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ δήμου πρεσβείαν πρὸς τὸν Πολυπέρχοντα τὴν κατηγοροῦσαν μὲν τῶν περὶ Φωκίωνα, παρακαλοῦσαν δὲ τὴν Μουνυχίαν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι μετὰ τῆς αὐτονομίας, ὁ Πολυπέρχων ἔσπευδε μὲν φρουρᾷ κατέχειν τὸν Πειραιᾶ διὰ τὸ πολλὰ δύνασθαι χρησιμεύειν τὸν λιμένα πρὸς τὰς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις χρείας· αἰσχυνόμενος δ᾿ ἐναντία πράττειν τῷ ὑφ᾿ ἑαυτοῦ γεγραμμένῳ διαγράμματι καὶ νομίζων ἄπιστος κριθήσεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐὰν εἰς τὴν ἐπιφανεστάτην παρανομήσῃ πόλιν, μετενόησε τῇ
3 γνώμῃ. διακούσας δὲ τῶν πρέσβεων τοῖς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου πρεσβεύουσι φιλανθρώπως κεχαρισμένας ἔδωκεν ἀποκρίσεις, τοὺς δὲ περὶ Φωκίωνα συλλαβὼν ἀπέστειλε δεσμίους εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας, διδοὺς τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῷ δήμῳ εἴτε βούλεται θανατοῦν εἴτ᾿ ἀπολῦσαι τῶν ἐγκλημάτων.

4 Συναχθείσης οὖν ἐκκλησίας ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις καὶ προτεθείσης κρίσεως τοῖς περὶ τὸν Φωκίωνα πολλοὶ τῶν τε φυγάδων γεγονότων ἐπ᾿ Ἀντιπάτρου καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευομένων κατηγόρησαν αὐτῶν

[1] This audience is described in some detail by Plutarch (*Phocion*, 33. 5-7).

property for others, among whom was Phocion, who had held supreme authority under Antipater. 318 B.C.

66. These men, on being driven from the city, fled to Alexander the son of Polyperchon and strove to secure safety for themselves through his good offices. They were well received by him and given letters to his father, Polyperchon, urging that Phocion and his friends should suffer no ill, since they had favoured his interests and now promised to co-operate with him in every way. The Athenian people also sent an embassy to Polyperchon laying charges against Phocion and praying Polyperchon to restore to them Munychia and their autonomy. Now Polyperchon was eager to occupy the Piraeus with a garrison because the port could be of great service to him in meeting the needs of the wars; but since he was ashamed of acting contrary to the edict that he himself had issued, believing that he would be held faithless among the Greeks if he broke his word to the most famous city, he changed his purpose. When he had heard the embassies,[1] he gave a favourable answer in friendly terms to the one sent by the people, but he arrested Phocion and his companions and sent them bound to Athens, granting the people the authority either to put them to death or to dismiss the charges as they pleased.

When an assembly was called together in Athens and the case of Phocion and his fellows was brought forward, many of those who had been exiles in the days of Antipater[2] and many of those who had been

[2] Cp. chap. 18. 4-5. These exiles had been restored by Polyperchon's decree (chap. 56). According to Plutarch (*Phocion*, 32. 2), one important purpose of the restoration of the exiles was to make possible the ruin of Phocion. For the trial and death of Phocion cp. Plutarch, *Phocion*, 34-37.

5 θανάτου. ἦν δ' ὁ σύμπας τῆς κατηγορίας λόγος ὅτι οὗτοι παραίτιοι γεγένηνται μετὰ τὸν Λαμιακὸν πόλεμον τῆς τε δουλείας τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῆς καταλύσεως τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἀπολογουμένοις ὁ καιρὸς παρεδόθη τῆς ἀπολογίας, ὁ μὲν Φωκίων ἤρξατο ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ λόγον, τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τοῖς θορύβοις ἐξέσεισε τὴν ἀπολογίαν, ὥστ' εἰς πολλὴν ἀπορίαν παραγενέσθαι
6 τοὺς ἀπολογουμένους. λήξαντος δὲ τοῦ θορύβου πάλιν ὁ μὲν Φωκίων ἀπελογεῖτο, ὁ δὲ ὄχλος κατεβόα καὶ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ κινδυνεύοντος ἐκώλυεν ἐξακούεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ πλῆθος τῶν δημοτικῶν, ἀπωσμένον τῆς πολιτείας καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας τετευχὸς τῆς καθόδου, πικρῶς διέκειτο πρὸς τοὺς ἀφῃρημένους τὴν αὐτονομίαν.

67. Βιαζομένου δὲ τοῦ Φωκίωνος καὶ πρὸς περίστασιν ἀπεγνωσμένην ὑπὲρ τοῦ ζῆν ἀγωνιζομένου οἱ μὲν πλησίον ὄντες ἤκουον τῶν τῆς ὑποθέσεως δικαίων, οἱ δὲ μακρότερον διεστηκότες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς κραυγῆς τῶν θορυβούντων ἤκουον μὲν οὐδέν, αὐτὴν δὲ μόνην ἐθεώρουν τὴν τοῦ σώματος κίνησιν, γινομένην ἐναγώνιον καὶ ποικίλην διὰ τὸ
2 μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου. τέλος δὲ ἀπογνοὺς τὴν σωτηρίαν ὁ Φωκίων ἀνεβόησε, δεόμενος αὐτοῦ μὲν καταψηφίσασθαι τὸν θάνατον, τῶν δ' ἄλλων φείδεσθαι. ἀμεταθέτου δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ὁρμῆς καὶ βίας οὔσης παρεπορεύοντό τινες τῶν φίλων συνηγορήσοντες τῷ Φωκίωνι, ὧν τὰς μὲν ἀρχὰς τῶν λόγων ἤκουον, ὁπότε δὲ προβαίνοντες φανεροὶ καθίσταντο τὴν ἀπολογίαν διεξιόντες, ἐξεβάλλοντο τοῖς θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς ἐναντιουμέναις κραυγαῖς.

political opponents of the prisoners demanded the 318 B.C.
death penalty. The whole basis for the accusation was that after the Lamian War these men had been responsible for the enslavement of the fatherland and the overthrow of the democratic constitution and laws.[1] When opportunity was given the defendants for their defence, Phocion began to deliver a plea in his own behalf, but the mob by its tumult rejected his defence, so that the defendants were left in utter helplessness. When the tumult subsided, Phocion tried again to defend himself, but the crowd shouted him down and prevented the voice of the accused from being fully heard; for the many supporters of democracy, who had been expelled from their citizenship and then, beyond their hopes, had been restored, were bitter against those who had deprived Athens of its independence.

67. As Phocion attempted to overcome the opposition and fought for his life in desperate circumstances, those who were near heard the justice of his plea, but those who were at a greater distance heard nothing because of the great uproar caused by the rioters and only beheld his gestures, which because of his great danger were impassioned and varied. Finally, abandoning hope of safety, Phocion shouted in a loud voice, begging them to condemn him to death but to spare the others. As the fury and violence of the mob remained unalterable, certain of Phocion's friends kept coming forward to add their pleas to his. The mob would listen to their opening words, but when, as they went on, they made it clear that they were speaking for the defence, they would be driven away by the tumult and by the jeers that

[1] Cp. chap. 18.

3 τὸ δ' ἔσχατον πανδήμῳ φωνῇ καταχειροτονηθέντες εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἤγοντο τὴν ἐπὶ θανάτῳ. συνηκολούθουν δὲ αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ τῶν σπουδαίων ἀνδρῶν, ὀδυρόμενοι καὶ συμπάσχοντες ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει
4 τῶν ἀτυχημάτων· τὸ γὰρ πρωτεύοντας ἄνδρας ταῖς δόξαις καὶ ταῖς εὐγενείαις, πολλὰ πεπραχότας ἐν τῷ ζῆν φιλάνθρωπα, μήτε λόγου μήτε κρίσεως δικαίας τυγχάνειν πολλοὺς ἦγεν εἰς ἐπίστασιν διανοίας καὶ φόβον, ἀστάτου τε[1] καὶ κοινῆς ἅπασι τῆς τύχης
5 οὔσης. πολλοὶ δὲ[2] καὶ τῶν δημοτικῶν καὶ πικρῶς διακειμένων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλοιδόρουν τε ἀνηλεῶς καὶ πικρῶς ὠνείδιζον αὐτῷ τὰς συμφοράς· τὸ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς εὐτυχίαις σιωπώμενον μῖσος, ὅταν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐν ταῖς ἀτυχίαις ἐκραγῇ, ταῖς ὀργαῖς ἀπο-
6 θηριοῦται πρὸς τοὺς μισουμένους. διὰ δὴ[3] τῆς τοῦ κωνείου πόσεως κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος τὸν βίον καταλύσαντες ἐρρίφησαν ἄταφοι πάντες ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅρων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Φωκίων καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ διαβληθέντες τοιαύτην ἔσχον τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφήν.

68. Κάσανδρος δὲ παρ' Ἀντιγόνου λαβὼν ναῦς μακρὰς τριάκοντα καὶ πέντε, στρατιώτας δὲ τετρακισχιλίους κατέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. προσδεχθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ Νικάνορος τοῦ φρουράρχου παρέλαβε τὸν Πειραιᾶ καὶ τὰ κλεῖθρα τοῦ λιμένος· τὴν δὲ Μουνυχίαν αὐτὸς ὁ Νικάνωρ κατεῖχεν, ἔχων[4] ἰδίους στρατιώτας ἱκανοὺς εἰς τὸ τηρεῖν τὸ φρούριον.
2 Πολυπέρχων δὲ μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔτυχε μὲν διατρίβων περὶ τὴν Φωκίδα, πυθόμενος δὲ τὸν εἰς Πειραιᾶ κατάπλουν τοῦ Κασάνδρου παρῆλθεν

[1] τε Capps: δὲ MSS., omitted by Dindorf and Fischer.
[2] δὲ added by Dindorf.
[3] δὴ Capps: δὲ.

greeted them. Finally by the universal voice of the people the accused were condemned and led off to the prison on the way to death. They were accompanied by many good men, mourning and sympathizing with them at their great misfortune. For that men who were second to none in reputation and birth and had done many acts of human kindness during life should obtain neither a chance to defend themselves nor a fair trial turned many to arresting thoughts and fear, Fortune being not only unstable but impartial to all alike. But many of the popular party, men who were bitter in their opposition to Phocion, kept reviling him mercilessly and cruelly charging him with their misfortunes. For when hatred, that in prosperity finds no utterance, after a change of Fortune breaks out in adversity, it loses all human semblance in its rage against its object. So when, by taking the draught of hemlock according to the ancient custom, these men had ended their lives, they were all thrown unburied beyond the boundaries of Attica. In this manner died Phocion and those who had been falsely accused with him.[1] 318 B.C.

68. Cassander, after receiving from Antigonus thirty-five warships and four thousand soldiers, sailed into the Piraeus. Welcomed by Nicanor, the garrison commander, he took over the Piraeus and the harbour booms, while Munychia was retained by Nicanor himself, who had enough soldiers of his own to man the fortress. Polyperchon and the kings happened to be staying in Phocis, but when Polyperchon learned of Cassander's arrival in the Piraeus,

[1] Phocion was executed during the Attic month Munychion (April or May), 318 (Plutarch, *Phocion*, 37. 1).

[4] μὲν before ἔχων omitted by editors.

εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πλησίον τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατ-
3 εστρατοπέδευσεν. εἶχεν δὲ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας πεζοὺς μὲν Μακεδόνας δισμυρίους, τῶν δ' ἄλλων συμμάχων περὶ τετρακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἑξήκοντα πέντε. ἐπεβάλετο μὲν οὖν πολιορκεῖν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κάσανδρον, σπανίζων[1] δὲ τροφῆς καὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν ὑπολαμβάνων ἔσεσθαι πολυχρόνιον ἠναγκάσθη μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως ἀπολιπεῖν κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὸ δυνάμενον ἔχειν τὴν τοῦ σίτου χορηγίαν, ἡγουμένου τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναλαβὼν παρῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον, συναναγκάσων τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας πειθαρχεῖν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν, οἳ ἐτύγχανον μὲν τὰ Κασάνδρου φρονοῦντες καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπ' Ἀντιπάτρου καθεσταμένης ὀλιγαρχίας διοικούμενοι.

69. Τοῦ δὲ Πολυπέρχοντος περὶ ταῦτα διατρίβοντος ὁ Κάσανδρος ἀναλαβὼν τὸν στόλον Αἰγινήτας μὲν προσηγάγετο, τοὺς δὲ Σαλαμινίους ἀλλότρια φρονοῦντας εἰς πολιορκίαν συνέκλεισε. καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος προσβολὰς καὶ βελῶν καὶ στρατιωτῶν εὐπορῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους
2 κινδύνους ἤγαγε τοὺς Σαλαμινίους. κινδυνευούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἁλῶναι κατὰ κράτος ὁ Πολυπέρχων ἐξέπεμψε δύναμιν ἀξιόλογον πεζικήν τε καὶ ναυτικὴν τὴν ἐπιθησομένην τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι. διόπερ ὁ Κάσανδρος καταπλαγεὶς καὶ λύσας τὴν πολιορ-
3 κίαν ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ. Πολυπέρχων δὲ βουλόμενος τὰ κατὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον διοικῆσαι συμφερόντως παρῆλθε καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων συνέδρους διελέχθη περὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμαχίας. ἐξέπεμψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις

he moved into Attica and camped near the Piraeus. 318 B.C.
He had with him twenty thousand Macedonian infantry and about four thousand of the other allies, a thousand cavalry, and sixty-five elephants. It was his intention to besiege Cassander; but since he was short of supplies and supposed that the siege would be long, he was forced to leave in Attica under the command of his son Alexander the part of the army that could be supplied with food, while he himself with the larger part of the forces moved into the Peloponnesus to enforce obedience to the kings upon the people of Megalopolis, who were in sympathy with Cassander and were governed by the oligarchy that had been established by Antipater.

69. While Polyperchon was busy with these affairs, Cassander with the fleet secured the allegiance of the people of Aegina and closely invested the Salaminians, who were hostile to him. Since he made continuous onslaughts day after day and was well supplied with both missiles and men, he reduced the Salaminians to the most desperate straits. The city was already in danger of being taken by storm when Polyperchon sent a considerable force of infantry and ships to attack the besiegers. At this Cassander was alarmed, abandoned the siege, and sailed back to the Piraeus. But Polyperchon, in his anxiety to settle affairs in the Peloponnesus to his own advantage, went there and discussed with delegates, whom he had gathered from the cities, the question of their alliance with himself. He also sent envoys to the cities, ordering that those

[1] σπανίζων editors: σπανιζόντων.

πρεσβευτάς, προστάττων τοὺς μὲν δι' Ἀντιπάτρου καθεσταμένους ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας θανατῶσαι, τοῖς δὲ δήμοις ἀποδοῦναι τὴν αὐτονομίαν.
4 πολλῶν δ' ὑπακουσάντων καὶ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις φόνων γινομένων καί τινων φυγαδευομένων οἱ μὲν Ἀντιπάτρου φίλοι διεφθάρησαν, τὰ δὲ πολιτεύματα τὴν ἐκ τῆς αὐτονομίας παρρησίαν ἀπέλαβον καὶ συνεμάχουν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πολυπέρχοντα. μόνων δὲ τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν διατηρούντων τὴν πρὸς Κάσανδρον φιλίαν ἔκρινε πολιορκῆσαι τὴν πόλιν αὐτῶν.

70. Οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται γνόντες τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος ἐψηφίσαντο τὰ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας κατάγειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν καὶ ξένων καὶ δούλων ἀριθμὸν ποιησάμενοι μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους εὗρον τοὺς δυναμένους παρέχεσθαι τὰς πολεμικὰς χρείας. εὐθὺς οὖν τοὺς μὲν εἰς τάξεις κατελόχιζον, οὓς δὲ πρὸς τὰς ὑπηρεσίας τοῖς ἔργοις καθίστανον, οὓς δ' ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν
2 τειχῶν ἔταττον. ὑφ' ἕνα δὲ καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν οἱ μὲν περὶ τὴν πόλιν τάφρον ὤρυττον βαθεῖαν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας χάρακα παρεκόμιζον, τινὲς δὲ τὰ πεπονηκότα τῶν τειχῶν κατεσκεύαζον, ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ τὰς ὁπλοποιίας καὶ τὴν κατασκευὴν τῶν ὀξυβελῶν καταπελτῶν ἐγίνοντο, πᾶσα δ' ἡ πόλις ἐν ἔργοις καθειστήκει διά τε τὴν προθυμίαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ διὰ τοὺς προσδοκωμένους κινδύνους·
3 διεβεβόητο γὰρ τό τε μέγεθος τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συνακολουθούντων ἐλεφάντων καὶ δοκούντων ἀνυπόστατον ἔχειν τήν τε ἀλκὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὁρμήν.
4 Ταχὺ δὲ πάντων εὐτρεπῶν γενομένων ὁ μὲν

who through Antipater's influence had been made 318 B.C. magistrates in the oligarchical governments should be put to death and that the people should be given back their autonomy. Many in fact obeyed him, there were massacres throughout the cities, and some were driven into exile; the friends of Antipater were destroyed, and the governments, recovering the freedom of action that came with autonomy, began to form alliances with Polyperchon. Since the Megalopolitans alone held to their friendship with Cassander, Polyperchon decided to attack their city.

70. When the Megalopolitans learned the intention of Polyperchon, they voted to bring all their property into the city from the country. On taking a census of citizens, foreigners, and slaves, they found that there were fifteen thousand men capable of performing military service. Some of these they at once attached to military formations, others they assigned to work gangs, and others they detailed to the care of the city wall. At one and the same time one group of men was digging a deep moat about the city, and another was bringing from the country timber for a palisade; some were repairing the weakened portions of the wall, while others were engaged in making weapons and in preparing engines for hurling bolts, and the whole city was deep in activity, owing both to the spirit of the population and to the danger that was foreseen. Indeed, word had spread abroad concerning the magnitude of the royal army and the multitude of the accompanying elephants, which were reputed to possess a fighting spirit and a momentum of body that were irresistible.

When all had been hastily made ready, Poly-

Πολυπέρχων ἧκε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐστρατοπέδευσε δύο θέμενος παρεμβολάς, τὴν μὲν τῶν Μακεδόνων, τὴν δὲ τῶν συμμάχων. κατασκευάσας δὲ πύργους ξυλίνους ὑψηλοτέρους τῶν τειχῶν προσῆγε τῇ πόλει κατὰ τοὺς εὐθέτους τόπους καὶ βέλη παντοδαπὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀγωνιζομένους ἐπιστήσας ἀνέστελλε τοὺς ἐπὶ
5 τῶν ἐπάλξεων ἀντιτεταγμένους. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις διὰ τῶν μεταλλευόντων ὑπορύξας τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς στήριγγας[1] ἐμπρήσας κατέβαλε τρεῖς πύργους τοὺς μεγίστους καὶ μεσοπύργια τὰ ἴσα. μεγάλου δὲ τοῦ πτώματος καὶ παραδόξου γενομένου τὸ μὲν πλῆθος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀνεβόησεν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὴν δεινότητα τῆς πράξεως
6 κατεπλάγησαν. ἔνθα δὴ τῶν Μακεδόνων διὰ τοῦ πτώματος εἰσπιπτόντων εἰς τὴν πόλιν οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται διεῖλον σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τῷ μὲν ἑνὶ μέρει τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποστάντες καὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ πτώματι δυσχωρίαν συνεργὸν ἔχοντες καρτερὰν μάχην συνίσταντο, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ χάρακι διελάμβανον τὸν ἐντὸς τοῦ πτώματος τόπον καὶ τεῖχος ἕτερον ἀντῳκοδόμουν, συνεχῶς ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ
7 νύκτωρ. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἔργων συντελουμένων διά τε τὴν πολυχειρίαν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα παρασκευῆς τὸ μὲν διὰ τοῦ πτώματος ἐλάττωμα συντόμως οἱ Μεγαλοπολῖται διωρθώσαντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ξυλίνων πύργων ἀγωνιζομένους τοῖς τε ὀξυβελέσι καταπέλταις ἐχρῶντο καὶ τοῖς σφενδονήταις καὶ τοξόταις πολλοὺς τῶν πολεμίων κατετίτρωσκον.

71. Πολλῶν δὲ πιπτόντων παρ' ἀμφοτέροις καὶ κατατραυματιζομένων καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς περικατα-

perchon arrived with his entire army and took up his 318 B.C.
position near the city, building two camps, one for the Macedonians, the other for the allies. Having constructed wooden towers higher than the walls, he brought them up to the city in those places that were convenient for the purpose, supplied them with missiles of many kinds and men to hurl these, and drove back those who were arrayed against him on the battlements. Meantime his sappers drove mines under the wall and then, by burning the mine props, caused the ruin of three very large towers and as many intervening sections of the wall. At this great and unexpected collapse the crowd of Macedonians shouted with joy, but those in the city were stunned by the seriousness of the event. Immediately the Macedonians began to pour through the breach into the city, while the Megalopolitans divided themselves, some of them opposing the enemy and, aided by the difficulty of the passage through the breach, putting up a stout fight, the rest cutting off the area inside the breach with a palisade and throwing up a second wall, applying themselves day and night without intermission to the task. Since this work was soon finished owing to the multitude of workmen and the ample supply of all the needed material, the Megalopolitans quickly made good the loss they had suffered by the breaching of the wall. Moreover, against those of the enemy who were fighting from the wooden towers they used bolt-shooting catapults, slingers, and bowmen, and mortally wounded many.

71. When many were falling or being disabled on each side and night had closed in about them, Poly-

[1] *στήριγγας* Scaliger : *στηριγίας* F, *τερηπὰς* RX.

λαβούσης ὁ μὲν Πολυπέρχων ἀνακαλεσάμενος τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν
2 στρατοπεδείαν. τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν τοῦ πτώματος τόπον ἀνακαθάρας ἐποίησε βάσιμον τοῖς θηρίοις καὶ διενοεῖτο χρήσασθαι ταῖς τούτων ῥώμαις πρὸς τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς πόλεως. οἱ δὲ Μεγαλοπολῖται Δάμιδος ἡγουμένου καὶ τούτου γεγονότος κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ περὶ τὰς φύσεις καὶ χρείας τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐμπειρίαν ἔχοντος οὐ μετρίως
3 προετέρησαν. οὗτος γὰρ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐπίνοιαν ἀντίταγμα τῇ τῶν θηρίων βίᾳ κατασκευάσας ἀχρήστους ἐποίησε τὰς τῶν σωμάτων ῥώμας. θύρας γὰρ μεγάλας πλείονας ἥλοις ὀξέσι καταπυκνώσας καὶ ταύτας ἐν ὀρύγμασι ταπεινοῖς καταστρώσας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν κέντρων ἐπικρυψάμενος κατέλιπε διὰ τούτων δίοδον εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ κατὰ μέτωπον μὲν οὐδένα τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔστησεν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πλαγίων ἔταξε πλῆθος ἀκοντιστῶν καὶ τοξοτῶν καὶ
4 τῶν καταπελτικῶν βελῶν. τοῦ δὲ Πολυπέρχοντος ἀνακαθαίροντος πάντα τὸν τόπον τοῦ πτώματος καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις ἀθρόοις διὰ τούτου τὴν ἔφοδον ποιουμένου παράδοξος ἐγένετο πρᾶξις περὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας. οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἀπαντῶντος κατὰ στόμα τοῖς θηρίοις οἱ μὲν Ἰνδοὶ συνηνάγκαζον εἰσπίπτειν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἐλέφαντες τῇ ῥώμῃ[1] προπίπτοντες ἐνέπιπτον εἰς τὰς κατακεκεντρωμένας θύρας.
5 τραυματιζόμενοι δὲ τοὺς πόδας ὑπὸ τῶν ἥλων καὶ διὰ τὸ βάρος περιπειρόμενοι τοῖς κέντροις οὔτε προϊέναι πορρώτερον οὔτε ἀναστρέφειν διὰ τὴν δυσκινησίαν ἠδύναντο. ἅμα δὲ καὶ βελῶν παντοδαπῶν ἐκ πλαγίων φερομένων οἱ μὲν ἀπέθνησκον τῶν Ἰνδῶν, οἱ δὲ κατατραυματιζόμενοι τῆς ἐνδεχο-

perchon recalled his troops by a trumpet signal and returned to his own camp. On the next day he cleared the area of the breach, making it passable for the elephants, whose might he planned to use in capturing the city. The Megalopolitans, however, under the leadership of Damis, who had been in Asia with Alexander and knew by experience the nature and the use of these animals, got the better of him completely. Indeed, by pitting his native wit against the brute force of the elephants, Damis rendered their physical strength useless. He studded many great frames with sharp nails and buried them in shallow trenches, concealing the projecting points; over them he left a way into the city, placing none of the troops directly in the face of it, but posting on the flanks a great many javelin throwers, bowmen, and catapults. As Polyperchon was clearing the debris from the whole extent of the breach and making an attack through it with all the elephants in a body, a most unexpected thing befell them. There being no resistance in front, the Indian mahouts did their part in urging them to rush into the city all together; but the animals, as they charged violently, encountered the spike-studded frames. Wounded in their feet by the spikes, their own weight causing the points to penetrate, they could neither go forward any farther nor turn back because it hurt them to move. At the same time some of the mahouts were killed by the missiles of all kinds that poured upon them from the flanks, and others were disabled by wounds and so lost such use of the elephants as the situation per- 318 B.C.

[1] ῥώμῃ MSS., Fischer in corrigenda, ῥύμῃ Reiske, Dindorf.

6 μένης χρείας ὑστεροῦντο. τὰ δὲ θηρία διά τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βελῶν καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῆς τῶν ἥλων πληγῆς περιώδυνα γινόμενα τὴν διὰ τῶν φίλων[1] ἐπιστροφὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ πολλοὺς αὐτῶν κατεπάτουν. τέλος δὲ τὸ μὲν ἀνδρειότατον αὐτῶν καὶ πλείστην ἔχον κατάπληξιν ἔπεσε, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τὰ μὲν ἄχρηστα παντελῶς ἐγένετο, τὰ δὲ πολλοῖς τῶν ἰδίων θάνατον ἐπήνεγκεν.

72. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν εὐημερίαν ταύτην οἱ μὲν Μεγαλοπολῖται ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐθάρρησαν, ὁ δὲ Πολυπέρχων μετανοηθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ καὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἐπιμένειν οὐ δυνάμενος ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέλιπε μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως, αὐτὸς δ' ἐφ' ἑτέρας
2 ἀναγκαιοτέρας πράξεις ἐτρέπετο. καὶ Κλεῖτον μὲν τὸν ναύαρχον μετὰ τοῦ στόλου παντὸς ἐξέπεμψε, προστάξας ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον τόποις καὶ κωλύειν τὰς ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας διαβιβαζομένας δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, προσλαβέσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἀρριδαῖον τὸν συμπεφευγότα μὲν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εἰς τὴν τῶν Κιανῶν πόλιν, ἐχθρὸν δ'
3 ὄντα τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον. τούτου δὲ πλεύσαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον καὶ προσαγαγομένου τὰς ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι πόλεις, ἔτι δὲ προσδεξαμένου τὴν μετ' Ἀρριδαίου δύναμιν κατέπλευσεν εἰς τοὺς τόπους ἐκείνους Νικάνωρ ὁ τῆς Μουνυχίας φρούραρχος, ἐξαπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στόλου· προσελάβετο δὲ καὶ τὰς παρ' Ἀντιγόνου ναῦς, ὥστε τὰς πάσας ἔχειν πλείους τῶν
4 ἑκατόν. γενομένης δὲ ναυμαχίας οὐ μακρὰν τῆς τῶν Βυζαντίων πόλεως ἐνίκα ὁ Κλεῖτος καὶ κατέδυσε μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων ναῦς ἑπτακαίδεκα, εἷλε δὲ

[1] φίλων editors: φιλίων.

mitted. The elephants, suffering great pain because 318 B.C. of the cloud of missiles and the nature of the wounds caused by the spikes, wheeled about through their friends and trod down many of them. Finally the elephant that was the most valiant and formidable collapsed; of the rest, some became completely useless, and others brought death to many of their own side.

72. After this piece of good fortune the Megalopolitans were more confident, but Polyperchon repented of the siege; and as he himself could not wait there for a long time, he left a part of the army for the siege, while he himself went off about other more necessary business. He sent Cleitus the admiral out with the whole fleet, ordering him to lie in wait in the region of the Hellespont and block the forces that were being brought across from Asia into Europe. Cleitus was also to pick up Arrhidaeus, who had fled with his soldiers to the city of the Cianoi[1] since he was an enemy of Antigonus. After Cleitus had sailed to the Hellespont, had won the allegiance of the cities of the Propontis, and had received the army of Arrhidaeus, Nicanor, the commander of Munychia, reached that region, Cassander having sent him with his entire fleet. Nicanor had also taken over the ships of Antigonus so that he had in all more than a hundred.[2] A naval battle took place not far from Byzantium in which Cleitus was victorious, sinking seventeen ships of the enemy and capturing not less

[1] Cius, in Bithynia on the Cianian Gulf, which is part of the Propontis. For Cleitus and Antigonus cp. chap. 52. 5-6.
[2] Polyaenus (4. 6. 8) says one hundred and thirty.

σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀνδράσιν οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα· αἱ δὲ λοιπαὶ κατέφυγον εἰς τὸν τῶν Χαλκηδονίων λιμένα.

5 Τοιαύτης δ' εὐημερίας γενομένης τοῖς περὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον οὗτος μὲν ὑπέλαβε μηκέτι τολμήσειν τοὺς πολεμίους ναυμαχήσειν διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἥττης, ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸν στόλον ἐλαττώματα παραδόξως διὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀγχινοίας καὶ στρατηγίας ἀνεμαχέσατο τὸ γεγονὸς ἐλάττωμα.
6 παρὰ γὰρ Βυζαντίων μεταπεμψάμενος νυκτὸς ναῦς ὑπηρετικὰς ταύταις μὲν διεβίβαζεν εἰς τὸ πέραν τοξότας τε καὶ σφενδονήτας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ψιλικῶν ταγμάτων τοὺς ἱκανούς. οὗτοι δὲ πρὸ ἡμέρας ἐπιθέμενοι τοῖς ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν ἀποβεβηκόσιν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ πεζῇ κατεστρατοπεδευκόσι κατεπλήξαντο τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κλεῖτον. ταχὺ δὲ πάντων διὰ τὸν φόβον τεταραγμένων καὶ εἰς τὰς ναῦς ἐμπηδώντων πολὺς ἐγένετο θόρυβος διά τε τὰς ἀποσκευὰς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν αἰχμαλώτων.
7 ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ Ἀντίγονος ἐξαρτύσας τὰς μακρὰς ναῦς καὶ τῶν ἀλκιμωτάτων πεζῶν πολλοὺς ἐπιβάτας ἐπιστήσας ἀπέστειλε, παρακαλέσας τεθαρρηκότως ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὡς πάντως καθ'
8 ἑαυτοὺς ἐσομένου τοῦ νικήματος. τοῦ δὲ Νικάνορος νυκτὸς ἀναχθέντος καὶ διαφωσκούσης τῆς ἡμέρας οὗτοι μὲν ἐπιπεσόντες ἄφνω τοῖς πολεμίοις τεθορυβημένοις εὐθὺς κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον ἐπίπλουν ἐτρέψαντο καὶ τὰς μὲν τοῖς ἐμβόλοις τύπτοντες ἀνέρρηττον, ὧν δὲ τοὺς ταρσοὺς παρέσυρον, ὧν δὲ αὐτάνδρων παραδιδομένων ἀκινδύνως ἐκυρίευον· τέλος δὲ πλὴν μιᾶς τῆς ναυαρχίδος τῶν λοιπῶν
9 πασῶν αὐτάνδρων ἐκυρίευσαν. ὁ δὲ Κλεῖτος φυ-

than forty together with their crews, but the rest 318 B.C.
escaped to the harbour of Chalcedon.[1]

After such a victory Cleitus believed that the enemy would no longer dare fight at sea owing to the severity of their defeat, but Antigonus, after learning of the losses that the fleet had suffered, unexpectedly made good by his own keen wit and generalship the setback that he had encountered. Gathering auxiliary vessels from Byzantium by night, he employed them in transporting bowmen, slingers, and a sufficient number of other light-armed troops to the other shore. Before dawn they fell upon those who had disembarked from the ships of the enemy and were encamped on the land, spreading panic in the forces of Cleitus. At once these were all thrown into a tumult of fear, and when they leaped into the ships, there was great confusion because of the baggage and the large number of prisoners. At this point Antigonus, who had made his warships ready and had placed in them as marines many of his bravest infantry, sent them into the fight, urging them to fall on the enemy with confidence, since the victory would depend entirely upon them. During the night Nicanor had put to sea, and, as dawn appeared, his men fell suddenly upon the confused enemy and at once put them to flight at the first attack, destroying some of the ships by ramming them with the beaks, sweeping off the oars of others, and gaining possession of certain of them without danger when they surrendered with their crews. They finally captured all the ships together with their crews save for the one that carried the commander. Cleitus fled to

[1] Cp. *Marmor Parium* for 317/16.

γὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν ἐπεβάλετο μὲν διὰ Μακεδονίας ἀνασώζεσθαι, περιπεσὼν δὲ στρατιώταις τισὶ τοῦ Λυσιμάχου διεφθάρη.

73. Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν τηλικαύτῃ συμφορᾷ περιβαλὼν τοὺς πολεμίους μεγάλην ἐπὶ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ συνέσει δόξαν ἀπηνέγκατο. θαλασσοκρατῆσαι δὲ ἔσπευδε καὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας ἡγεμονίαν ἀδήριτον περιποιήσασθαι. διόπερ ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐπιλέξας εὐζώνους πεζοὺς μὲν δισμυρίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχιλίους προῆγεν ἐπὶ Κιλικίας, σπεύδων τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ κατακόψαι πρὸ τοῦ δύναμιν
2 ἁδροτέραν ἀθροίσειν.[1] Εὐμενὴς δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν ὁρμὴν τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπεβάλετο μὲν τὴν Φοινίκην ἀνακτᾶσθαι τοῖς βασιλεῦσι, κατειλημμένην ἀδίκως ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου, καταταχούμενος δ' ὑπὸ τῶν καιρῶν ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ διὰ τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, σπεύδων τῶν ἄνω λεγομένων σατραπειῶν ἅψασθαι.
3 περὶ δὲ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν ἐπιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν ἐγχωρίων νυκτὸς ἀπέβαλέ τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν. παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ Σελεύκου παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην ποταμὸν ἐκινδύνευσε μὲν ἅπασαν ἀποβαλεῖν τὴν δύναμιν, διώρυγός τινος ῥαγείσης καὶ τῆς στρατοπεδείας ὅλης συγκλυσθείσης, ὅμως δὲ διὰ τῆς ἰδίας στρατηγίας ἐπί τι χῶμα καταφυγὼν καὶ τὴν διώρυγα πάλιν ἀποστρέψας, διέσωσεν αὐτόν τε καὶ τὴν
4 δύναμιν. παραδόξως δὲ τὰς τοῦ Σελεύκου χεῖρας διαφυγὼν διήνυσεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, ἔχων πεζοὺς μὲν μυρίους καὶ πεντακισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ τριακοσίους. ἀναλαβὼν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθίας

the shore and abandoned his ship, endeavouring to make his way through Macedonia to safety, but he fell into the hands of certain soldiers of Lysimachus and was put to death.[1] 318 B.C.

73. As for Antigonus, by inflicting so disastrous a blow upon the enemy, he gained a great reputation for military genius. He now set out to gain command of the sea and to place his control of Asia beyond dispute. For this end he selected from his entire army twenty thousand lightly equipped infantry and four thousand cavalry and set out for Cilicia, hoping to destroy Eumenes before the latter should gather stronger forces.[2] After Eumenes had news of Antigonus' move, he thought to recover for the kings Phoenicia, which had been unjustly occupied by Ptolemy[3]; but being forestalled by events, he moved from Phoenicia and marched with his army through Coelê Syria with the design of making contact with what are called the upper satrapies. Near the Tigris, however, the inhabitants fell on him by night, causing him the loss of some soldiers. Likewise in Babylonia when Seleucus attacked him near the Euphrates he was in danger of losing his whole army; for a canal was breached and his entire camp inundated, but by a piece of strategy of his own he escaped to a mound, diverted the canal to its old course, and saved himself and his army. Thus unexpectedly slipping through the hands of Seleucus, he won through into Persia with his army, which consisted of fifteen thousand infantry and thirty-three hundred cavalry. After letting the

[1] Both naval battles took place in the summer of 318.
[2] Cp. chap. 63. 6.
[3] Cp. chap. 43.

[1] ἀθροίσειν RX, ἀθροῖσαι F, Fischer, ἀθροίζειν other editors.

διεπέμπετο πρός τε τοὺς σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις, μεταπεμπόμενος στρατιώτας τε καὶ χρήματα.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν μέχρι τούτου προέβη κατὰ[1] τοῦτον τὸν ἐνιαυτόν.

74. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Πολυπέρχοντος διὰ τὴν ἐλάττωσιν τῆς κατὰ τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας πολιορκίας καταφρονηθέντος αἱ πλεῖσται τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων ἀφιστάμεναι τῶν βασιλέων πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἀπέκλιναν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ μὴ δυναμένων ἀποτρίψασθαι τὴν φρουρὰν μήτε διὰ τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος μήτε δι' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀπετόλμησέ τις τῶν ἐπαινουμένων πολιτῶν εἰπεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ
2 διότι συμφέρει πρὸς Κάσανδρον διαλύσασθαι. τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον ἐγένετο θόρυβος, τῶν μὲν ἀντιλεγόντων, τῶν δὲ συγκατατιθεμένων τοῖς λόγοις· ὡς δὲ ἀνεθεωρήθη τὸ συμφέρον, ἔδοξε τοῖς πᾶσι πρεσβεύειν πρὸς Κάσανδρον καὶ τίθεσθαι τὰ πρὸς
3 αὐτὸν ὡς ἂν ᾖ δυνατόν. γενομένων δὲ πλειόνων ἐντεύξεων συνέθεντο τὴν εἰρήνην ὥστε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἔχειν πόλιν τε καὶ χώραν καὶ προσόδους καὶ ναῦς καὶ τἄλλα πάντα φίλους ὄντας καὶ συμμάχους Κασάνδρου, τὴν δὲ Μουνυχίαν κατὰ τὸ παρὸν κρατεῖν Κάσανδρον, ἕως ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸ πολίτευμα διοικεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τιμήσεων ἄχρι μνῶν δέκα, καταστῆσαι δ' ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς πόλεως ἕνα ἄνδρα Ἀθηναῖον ὃν ἂν δόξῃ Κασάνδρῳ· καὶ ᾑρέθη Δημήτριος ὁ Φαληρεύς. οὗτος

[1] κατὰ added by Kallenberg.

army recover from its hardships, he sent word to the satraps and generals in the upper satrapies, requesting soldiers and money. 318 B.C.

And the affairs of Asia progressed to such a point during this year.[1]

74. In Europe,[2] as Polyperchon had come to be regarded with contempt because of his failure at the siege of Megalopolis, most of the Greek cities deserted the kings and went over to Cassander. When the Athenians were unable to get rid of the garrison by the aid of either Polyperchon or Olympias, one of those citizens who were accepted leaders risked the statement in the Assembly that it was for the advantage of the city to come to terms with Cassander. At first a clamour was raised, some opposing and some supporting his proposal, but when they had considered more carefully what was the expedient course, it was unanimously determined to send an embassy to Cassander and to arrange affairs with him as best they could. After several conferences peace was made on the following terms: the Athenians were to retain their city and territory, their revenues, their fleet, and everything else, and to be friends and allies of Cassander; Munychia was to remain temporarily under the control of Cassander until the war against the kings should be concluded; the government was to be in the hands of those possessing at least ten minae; and whatever single Athenian citizen Cassander should designate was to be overseer of the city. Demetrius of Phalerum was chosen,

[1] Continued and in part repeated in Book 19. 12.
[2] Continued from chap. 72. 1.

δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς πόλεως ἦρχεν εἰρηνικῶς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας φιλανθρώπως.

75. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Νικάνορος καταπλεύσαντος εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κεκοσμημένῳ τῷ στόλῳ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἀκροστολίοις τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδοχῆς αὐτὸν ἠξίωσε μεγάλης ὁ Κάσανδρος διὰ τὰς εὐημερίας, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁρῶν αὐτὸν ὄγκου πλήρη καὶ πεφρονηματισμένον, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Μουνυχίαν διὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ στρατιωτῶν φρουροῦντα, κρίνας αὐτὸν ἀλλότρια φρονεῖν ἐδολοφόνησεν. ἐστράτευσε δὲ καὶ εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πολλοὺς ἔσχε τῶν ἐγχωρίων
2 ἀφισταμένους πρὸς αὐτόν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰς Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἐνέπεσέν τις ὁρμὴ τῆς Κασάνδρου[1] συμμαχίας. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Πολυπέρχων ἀργῶς ἐδόκει καὶ ἀφρόνως προστατεῖν τῆς τε βασιλείας καὶ τῶν συμμάχων, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ἐπιεικῶς προσφερόμενος πᾶσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐνεργὸς ὢν πολλοὺς εἶχεν αἱρετιστὰς τῆς αὐτοῦ δυναστείας.
3 Ἐπεὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸν ἑπόμενον ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐγένετο τύραννος τῶν Συρακοσίων, ταύτην μὲν τὴν βύβλον αὐτοῦ περιγράψομεν κατὰ τὴν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρόθεσιν, τῆς δ' ἐχομένης τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος ποιησάμενοι διέξιμεν τὰς οἰκείας τῇ γραφῇ πράξεις.

[1] Κασάνδρου Rhodoman, Dindorf: Ἀντιπάτρου MSS., Fischer.

who, when he became overseer, ruled the city peacefully and with goodwill toward the citizens.[1] 317 B.C.

75. Afterwards Nicanor sailed into the Piraeus with his fleet ornamented with the beaks of the ships taken at his victory.[2] At first Cassander regarded him with great approval because of his success, but later, when he saw that he was filled with arrogance and puffed up, and that he was, moreover, garrisoning Munychia with his own men, he decided that he was planning treachery and had him assassinated. He also made a campaign into Macedonia,[3] where he found many of the inhabitants coming over to him. The Greek cities, too, felt an impulse to join the alliance of Cassander[4]; for Polyperchon seemed to lack both energy and wisdom in representing the kings and his allies, but Cassander, who treated all fairly and was active in carrying out his affairs, was winning many supporters of his leadership.

Since Agathocles became tyrant of Syracuse in the following year, we shall bring this book to an end at this point as was proposed at the beginning.[5] We shall begin the next Book with the tyranny of Agathocles and include in it the events that deserve commemoration in our account.

[1] The peace was made in the spring of 317. Cp. Strabo, 9. 1. 20 (398); Timaeus, *FHG*, 1. 228; *Marmor Parium* for 317/16.
[2] Cp. chap. 72.
[3] Cp. Book 19. 35. 7.
[4] But cp. the critical note.
[5] Cp. chap. 1. 6.

BOOK XIX

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ ἐννεακαιδεκάτῃ τῶν Διοδώρου βύβλων

Περὶ τῶν ἀφορμῶν αἷς χρησάμενος Ἀγαθοκλῆς τύραννος ἐγένετο τῶν Συρακουσίων.

Ὡς οἱ Κροτωνιατῶν φυγάδες ἐπιστρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα πάντες ἀνῃρέθησαν.

Ὀλυμπιάδος μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς κάθοδος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν.

Εὐρυδίκης καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἅλωσις καὶ θάνατος.

Ὡς Εὐμενὴς ἔχων τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας ἀνέβη μὲν εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας, συνήγαγε δὲ τούς τε σατράπας καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις εἰς τὴν Περσίδα.

Ὡς Ἄτταλος καὶ Πολέμων μετὰ τῶν συνεπιθεμένων τῇ φυλακῇ ληφθέντες ἀνῃρέθησαν.

Ὡς Ἀντίγονος διώξας Εὐμενῆ περὶ τὸν Κοπράτην ποταμὸν ἠλαττώθη.

Ὡς εἰς Μηδίαν ἀναζεύξας ἐν ταῖς παρόδοις πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν.

Παράταξις Ἀντιγόνου πρὸς Εὐμενῆ καὶ τοὺς σατράπας ἐν Παραιτάκοις.[1]

Ἀποχώρησις Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Μηδίαν πρὸς χειμασίαν.

Κασάνδρου στρατεία εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ πολιορκία Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐν Πύδνῃ.

[1] Παραιτάκοις Wesseling : Παρατάκοις.

CONTENTS OF THE NINETEENTH BOOK OF DIODORUS

From what beginnings Agathocles rose in making himself tyrant of Syracuse (chaps. 1-9).

How the exiles from Croton took the field against their native city and were all slain (chap. 10).

The return of Olympias and her son to the kingdom (chap. 11).

The capture and death of Eurydicê and of King Philip (chap. 11).

How Eumenes went into the upper satrapies with the Silver Shields and collected the satraps and their armies in Persia (chaps. 12-15).

How Attalus and Polemon, together with those who took part with them in the attack on the guard, were taken and killed (chap. 16).

How Antigonus pursued Eumenes and was defeated at the Coprates River (chaps. 17-18).

How he set out into Media and lost many of his troops in the passes (chaps. 19-20).

Antigonus' battle against Eumenes and the satraps in Paraetacenê (chaps. 21-31).

The withdrawal of Antigonus and his army into Media for winter quarters (chaps. 32-34).

Cassander's invasion of Macedonia and his siege of Olympias in Pydna (chaps. 35-36).

Ὡς κατεστρατήγησεν Εὐμενὴς τοὺς περὶ Ἀντίγονον διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πορευομένους.

Ἀντιγόνου πορεία διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ ἐπίθεσις τοῖς ἐν τῇ παραχειμασίᾳ θηρίοις.[1]

Ὡς παρατάξεως γενομένης Ἀντίγονος ἐκυρίευσε πάσης τῆς τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων δυνάμεως.

Ὡς Εὐμενῆ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τοὺς ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς αὐτὸν διατεθέντας ἀνεῖλεν.

Ὁ γενόμενος ἐν Ῥόδῳ κατακλυσμὸς καὶ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀτυχήματα.

Πείθωνος ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου θάνατος καὶ τῶν δι' αὐτὸν ἀποστάντων εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν ἀναίρεσις.

Ὀλυμπιάδος ἅλωσις ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου καὶ θάνατος.

Ὡς Κάσανδρος Θεσσαλονίκην ἔγημε τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου, ἐπώνυμον δ' ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ἔκτισεν ἐπὶ τῆς Παλλήνης.

Ὡς Πολυπέρχων ἀπογνοὺς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἔφυγεν εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν.

Ὡς Κάσανδρος τὴν τῶν Θηβαίων πόλιν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου κατεσκαμμένην ἀποκατέστησε.

Περὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀρχαίοις χρόνοις συμβάντων τῇ πόλει τῶν Θηβαίων καὶ ποσάκις ἀνάστατος ἐγένετο.

Περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων Κασάνδρῳ κατὰ Πελοπόννησον·

Ἀντιγόνου μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως κατάβασις ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ φυγὴ Σελεύκου πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον εἰς Αἴγυπτον.

Σύνθεσις Πτολεμαίου καὶ Σελεύκου καὶ Κασάνδρου, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ Λυσιμάχου πρὸς τὸν κατ' Ἀντιγόνου πόλεμον.

[1] In the MSS. the order of this and the preceding item is reversed. Transposed by Dindorf.

How Eumenes outgeneralled Antigonus when the latter was going through the desert (chaps. 37-38).

The march of Antigonus through the desert against the enemy and his attack on their elephants in the winter quarters (chap. 39).

How after a pitched battle Antigonus gained control of all the forces of his opponents (chaps. 40-43).

How he killed Eumenes and such other generals as had been his enemies (chap. 44).

The flood at Rhodes and the disasters that befell that city (chap. 45).

The death of Pithon at the hands of Antigonus and the destruction of those who had been instigated by him to revolt in Media (chaps. 46-48).

The capture of Olympias by Cassander, and her death (chaps. 49-51).

How Cassander married Thessalonicê, the daughter of Philip son of Amyntas ; and how he founded a city named for himself on Pallenê (chap. 52).

How Polyperchon, giving up the cause of the kings as hopeless, fled to Aetolia (chap. 52).

How Cassander restored the city of Thebes, which had been razed by Alexander (chap. 53).

About the misfortunes that had befallen Thebes in former times, and how often the city had been destroyed (chap. 53).

On the operations of Cassander in the Peloponnesus (chap. 54).

The march of Antigonus and his army to the sea, and the flight of Seleucus into Egypt to Ptolemy (chap. 55).

The alliance of Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Cassander, and Lysimachus also, for the war against Antigonus (chaps. 56-57).

[1] The rest of the Table of Contents of the Nineteenth Book will be found at the beginning of Volume X.

ΒΙΒΛΟΣ ΕΝΝΕΑΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗ

1. Παλαιός τις παραδέδοται λόγος ὅτι τὰς δημο-
κρατίας οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ
ταῖς ὑπεροχαῖς προέχοντες καταλύουσι. διὸ καὶ
τῶν πόλεων ἔνιαι τοὺς ἰσχύοντας μάλιστα τῶν
πολιτευομένων ὑποπτεύουσαι καθαιροῦσιν αὐτῶν
2 τὰς ἐπιφανείας. σύνεγγυς γὰρ ἡ μετάβασις εἶναι
δοκεῖ τοῖς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μένουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς πατρίδος
καταδούλωσιν καὶ δυσχερὲς ἀποσχέσθαι μοναρχίας
τοῖς δι᾽ ὑπεροχὴν τὰς τοῦ κρατήσειν ἐλπίδας περι-
3 πεποιημένοις· ἔμφυτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πλεονεκτεῖν
τοῖς μειζόνων ὀρεγομένοις καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἔχειν
ἀτερματίστους. τοιγαροῦν Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν διὰ ταύ-
τας τὰς αἰτίας τοὺς πρωτεύοντας τῶν πολιτῶν
ἐφυγάδευσαν, τὸν λεγόμενον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἐξοστρα-
κισμὸν νομοθετήσαντες. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραττον οὐχ
ἵνα τῶν προγεγενημένων ἀδικημάτων λάβωσι
τιμωρίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως τοῖς δυναμένοις παρανομεῖν
ἐξουσία μὴ γένηται κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξαμαρτεῖν.
4 τῆς γὰρ Σόλωνος φωνῆς ὥσπερ χρησμοῦ τινος
ἐμνημόνευον, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς Πεισιστράτου τυραν-
νίδος προλέγων ἔθηκε τόδε τὸ ἐλεγεῖον

[1] Cp. Aristotle, *Politics*, 1284 a.

BOOK XIX

1. An old saying has been handed down that it is not men of average ability but those of outstanding superiority who destroy democracies. For this reason some cities, suspecting those of their public men who are the strongest, take away from them their outward show of power. It seems that the step to the enslavement of the fatherland is a short one for men who continue in positions of power, and that it is difficult for those to abstain from monarchy who through eminence have acquired hopes of ruling; for it is natural that men who thirst for greatness should seek their own aggrandizement and cherish desires that know no bounds. The Athenians, for example, exiled the foremost of their citizens for this reason, having established by law what was known among them as ostracism [1]; and this they did, not to inflict punishment for any injustice previously committed, but in order that those citizens who were strong enough to disregard the laws might not get an opportunity to do wrong at the expense of their fatherland. Indeed, they used to recite as an oracle that saying of Solon in which, while foretelling the tyranny of Peisistratus, he inserts this couplet: 317 B.C.

ἀνδρῶν ἐκ μεγάλων πόλις ὄλλυται, εἰς δὲ τυράννου[1]
δῆμος ἀϊδρίῃ δουλοσύνην ἔπεσεν.

5 Μάλιστα δὲ πάντων ἐπεπόλασεν ἡ πρὸς τὰς μοναρχίας ὁρμὴ περὶ Σικελίαν πρὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίους κυριεῦσαι ταύτης τῆς νήσου· αἱ γὰρ πόλεις ταῖς δημαγωγίαις ἐξαπατώμεναι μέχρι τούτου τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς ἰσχυροὺς κατεσκεύαζον, ἕως δεσπόται
6 γένωνται[2] τῶν ἐξαπατηθέντων. ἰδιώτατα δὲ πάντων Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐτυράννησε τῶν Συρακοσίων, ἀφορμαῖς μὲν ἐλαχίσταις χρησάμενος, ἀτυχήμασι δὲ μεγίστοις περιβαλὼν οὐ τὰς Συρακούσσας μόνον,
7 ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν Σικελίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην. δι' ἀπορίαν γὰρ βίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀσθένειαν τὴν κεραμευτικὴν τέχνην μεταχειρισάμενος εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθε δυνάμεως ἅμα καὶ μιαιφονίας ὥστε καταδουλώσασθαι μὲν τὴν μεγίστην καὶ καλλίστην τῶν πασῶν νήσων, κατακτήσασθαι δὲ χρόνον τινὰ τῆς τε Λιβύης τὴν πλείστην καὶ μέρη τῆς Ἰταλίας, ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ σφαγῆς ἐμπλῆσαι τὰς κατὰ Σικελίαν
8 πόλεις. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν πρὸ τούτου τυράννων ἐπετελέσατό τι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲ[3] τοιαύτην ὠμότητα κατὰ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἔσχε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἰδιώτας ἐκόλαζε πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ἀποσφάττων, παρὰ δὲ τῶν πόλεων τὰς εὐθύνας ἐλάμβανεν ἡβηδὸν μιαιφονῶν καὶ δι' ὀλίγους τῶν ἐγκαλουμένων τοὺς πολλοὺς καὶ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἀδικήσαντας

[1] *τυράννου* MSS. and editors, *μονάρχου* Book 9. 20. 2, Diog. Laert. 1. 50.
[2] *γένωνται* MSS., Fischer, *γένοιντο* Dindorf.
[3] *οὐδὲ* Dindorf: *οὔτε*.

Destruction cometh upon a city from its great men; and through ignorance the people fall into slavery to a tyrant.[1] 317 B.C.

More than anywhere else this tendency toward the rule of one man prevailed in Sicily before the Romans became rulers of that island; for the cities, deceived by demagogic wiles, went so far in making the weak strong that these became despots over those whom they had deceived. The most extraordinary instance of all is that of Agathocles who became tyrant of the Syracusans, a man who had the lowest beginnings, but who plunged not only Syracuse but also the whole of Sicily and Libya into the gravest misfortunes. Although, compelled by lack of means and slender fortune, he turned his hand to the potter's trade, he rose to such a peak of power and cruelty that he enslaved the greatest and fairest of all islands, for a time possessed the larger part of Libya[2] and parts of Italy, and filled the cities of Sicily with outrage and slaughter. No one of the tyrants before him brought any such achievements to completion nor yet displayed such cruelty toward those who had become his subjects. For example, he used to punish a private individual by slaughtering all his kindred, and to exact reckoning from cities by murdering the people from youth up; and on account of a few who were charged with a crime, he would compel the many,

[1] Cp. Book 9. 21. 2; Diogenes Laertius, 1. 50; Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus* (*L.C.L.*), 122; and Linforth, *Solon the Athenian* (Univ. of Cal. Pr., 1919), 144.
[2] Libya is here a rather indefinite term applied to the region of Africa between Cyrenê and the possessions of Carthage. To say that Agathocles possessed the larger part even of this is an exaggeration.

ἀναγκάζων τὴν αὐτὴν ἀναδέχεσθαι συμφορὰν πανδημεὶ τῶν πόλεων θάνατον κατεγίνωσκεν.

9 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τῆς βύβλου ταύτης σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις περιεχούσης καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα τὴν Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀφιέμενοι τὸ περὶ αὐτῆς προλέγειν τὰ συνεχῆ τοῖς προειρημένοις προσθήσομεν, παραθέντες πρότερον
10 τοὺς οἰκείους τῇ γραφῇ χρόνους. ἐν μὲν οὖν ταῖς προειρημέναις ὀκτωκαίδεκα βίβλοις ἀνεγράψαμεν τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτάτων χρόνων πράξεις τὰς γεγενημένας ἐν τοῖς γνωριζομένοις μέρεσι τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἐφ᾿ ὅσον ἡμῖν δύναμις, ἄχρι πρὸς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν πρὸ τῆς Ἀγαθοκλέους τυραννίδος, εἰς ὃν ἀπὸ Τροίας ἁλώσεως ἔτη συνάγεται ὀκτακόσια ἑξήκοντα ἕξ· ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς δυναστείας ταύτης ποιησάμενοι καταλήξομεν εἰς τὴν ἐφ᾿ Ἱμέρᾳ μάχην Ἀγαθοκλεῖ πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, περιλαβόντες ἔτη ἑπτά.

2. Ἐπ᾿ ἄρχοντος γὰρ Ἀθήνησι Δημογένους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν κατέστησαν ὑπάτους Λεύκιον Πλώτιον καὶ Μάνιον Φούλβιον, Ἀγαθοκλῆς δ᾿ ὁ Συρακόσιος τύραννος ἐγένετο τῆς πόλεως. ἕνεκα δὲ τοῦ σαφεστέρας γενέσθαι τὰς κατὰ μέρος πράξεις βραχέα προαναληψόμεθα[1] περὶ τοῦ προειρημένου δυνάστου.

2 Καρκῖνος ὁ Ῥηγῖνος φυγὰς γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος κατῴκησεν ἐν Θέρμοις τῆς Σικελίας, τεταγμένης τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ὑπὸ Καρχηδονίους. ἐμπλακεὶς δὲ τῶν ἐγχωρίων τινὶ γυναικὶ καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν ἔγκυον συνεχῶς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους

[1] προαναληψόμεθα Dindorf: προσαναληψόμεθα.

[1] Demogenes was archon in 317/16. Livy (9. 20. 1) gives as consuls for 318 M. Folius Flaccina and L. Plautius Venox. Plotius is the plebeian form of Plautius.

who had done no evil at all, to suffer the same fate, condemning to death the entire population of cities. 317 B.C.

But since this Book embraces all other events as well as the tyranny of Agathocles, we shall forgo preliminary statements about it and set forth the events that follow those already related, stating first the time covered by the account. In the preceding eighteen Books we have described to the best of our ability the events that have occurred in the known parts of the inhabited world from the earliest times down to the year before the tyranny of Agathocles, up to which time the years from the destruction of Troy are eight hundred and sixty-six; in this Book, beginning with that dynasty, we shall include events up to the battle at Himera between Agathocles and the Carthaginians, embracing a period of seven years.

2. When Demogenes was archon in Athens, the Romans elected to the consulship Lucius Plotius and Manius Fulvius,[1] and Agathocles of Syracuse became tyrant of his city. In order to make clearer the series of events, we shall briefly take up the life of that dynast at an earlier point.

Carcinus of Rhegium, an exile from his native city, settled in Therma in Sicily, a city that had been brought under the rule of the Carthaginians.[2] Having formed a union with a native woman and made her pregnant, he was constantly troubled in his sleep.

[2] Therma (called Thermae in Book 23. 9. 4, 20; both names seem to have been in use), the modern Termini, was founded as a Carthaginian colony in 407 (Book 13. 79. 8), but many of its settlers were Greeks from the near-by city of Himera, which had been razed two years before (Cicero, *Against Verres*, 2. 2. 35. 86). By 397 it was free from Carthage (Book 14. 47. 6). How it again fell into Carthaginian control is not known.

3 ἐταράττετο. διόπερ ἀγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς παιδοποιίας ἔδωκεν ἐντολὰς Καρχηδονίοις τισὶ θεωροῖς ἀναγομένοις εἰς Δελφοὺς ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν περὶ τοῦ γεννηθησομένου[1] βρέφους. ὧν ἐπιμελῶς τὸ παρακληθὲν πραξάντων ἐξέπεσε χρησμὸς ὅτι μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων ὁ γεννηθεὶς αἴτιος ἔσται Καρχηδονίοις
4 καὶ πάσῃ Σικελίᾳ. ἃ δὴ πυθόμενος καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἐξέθηκε τὸ παιδίον δημοσίᾳ καὶ τοὺς τηρήσοντας ἵνα τελευτήσῃ παρακατέστησεν. διελθουσῶν δέ τινων ἡμερῶν τὸ μὲν οὐκ ἀπέθνησκεν, οἱ τεταγμένοι
5 δ' ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς ὠλιγώρουν. καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον ἡ μήτηρ νυκτὸς παρελθοῦσα λάθρᾳ τὸ παιδίον ἀνείλετο καὶ πρὸς αὑτὴν μὲν οὐκ ἀπήνεγκε, φοβουμένη τὸν ἄνδρα, πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἡρακλείδην καταθεμένη προσηγόρευσεν Ἀγαθοκλέα, τὴν ὁμω-
6 νυμίαν εἰς τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἀνενέγκασα πατέρα. παρ' ᾧ τρεφόμενος ὁ παῖς ἐξέβη τήν τε ὄψιν εὐπρεπὴς καὶ τὸ σῶμα εὔρωστος πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ἑπταετοῦς δ' ὄντος αὐτοῦ παρακληθεὶς ὁ Καρκῖνος ὑφ' Ἡρακλείδου πρός τινα θυσίαν καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα παίζοντα μετά τινων ἡλικιωτῶν ἐθαύμαζε τό τε κάλλος καὶ τὴν ῥώμην, τῆς τε γυναικὸς εἰπούσης ὅτι τηλικοῦτος ἂν ἦν ὁ ἐκτεθείς, εἴπερ ἐτράφη, μεταμέλεσθαί τε ἔφη τοῖς
7 πραχθεῖσι καὶ συνεχῶς ἐδάκρυεν. εἶθ' ἡ μὲν γνοῦσα τὴν ὁρμὴν τἀνδρὸς συμφωνοῦσαν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐξέθηκε πᾶσαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν. ὁ δ' ἀσμένως προσδεξάμενος τοὺς λόγους τὸν μὲν υἱὸν ἀπέλαβε, τοὺς δὲ Καρχηδονίους φοβούμενος μετ-

[1] γεννηθησομένου Fischer: γεννησομένου.

Being thus made anxious about the begetting of the child, he instructed certain Carthaginian envoys who were setting out for Delphi to ask the god about his expected son. They duly carried out their commission, and an oracle was given forth that the child whom he had begotten would be the cause of great misfortunes to the Carthaginians and to all Sicily. Learning this and being frightened, Carcinus exposed the infant in a public place and set men to watch him that he might die.[1] After some days had passed the child had not died, and those who had been set to watch him began to be negligent. At this time, then, the mother came secretly by night and took the child; and, although, fearing her husband, she did not bring him to her own home, she left him with her brother Heracleides and called him Agathocles, the name of her own father. The boy was brought up in the home of Heracleides and became much fairer in face and stronger in body than was to be expected at his age. When the child was seven years old,[2] Carcinus was invited by Heracleides to some festival and, seeing Agathocles playing with some children of his own age, wondered at his beauty and strength. On the woman's remarking that the child who had been exposed would have been of the same age if he had been brought up, he said that he regretted what he had done and began to weep incessantly. Then she, seeing that the desire of the man was in harmony with her own past act, disclosed the entire truth. Gladly hearing her words, he accepted his son, but in fear of the Carthaginians removed to Syracuse with 317 B.C.

[1] Agathocles was born about 361 (cp. Book 21. 16. 5).

[2] But according to Polybius (12. 15. 6), Agathocles was eighteen when he went to Syracuse, an event placed by Diodorus immediately after the recognition.

ᾤκησεν[1] εἰς Συρακούσσας πανοίκιος· πένης δ' ὢν
ἐδίδαξε τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα τὴν κεραμευτικὴν τέχνην
ἔτι παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν ὄντα.
8 Καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον Τιμολέων μὲν ὁ Κορίνθιος
νικήσας τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ Κρημισσῷ[2] μάχην τοὺς Καρχη-
δονίους μετέδωκε τῆς ἐν Συρακούσσαις πολιτείας
πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις. ὁ δὲ Καρκῖνος μετ' Ἀγα-
θοκλέους πολιτογραφηθεὶς καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὀλίγον
9 βιώσας χρόνον ἐτελεύτησεν. ἡ δὲ μήτηρ ἀνέθηκεν
λιθίνην εἰκόνα τοῦ παιδὸς ἔν τινι τεμένει, πρὸς ἣν
μελισσῶν ἑσμὸς προσκαθίσας ἐκηροπλάστησεν ἐπὶ
τῶν ἰσχίων. τοῦ δὲ σημείου προσενεχθέντος τοῖς
περὶ ταῦτ' ἀσχολουμένοις ἀπεφήναντο πάντες κατὰ
τὴν ἀκμὴν ἥξειν αὐτὸν εἰς μεγάλην ἐπιφάνειαν·
ὅπερ καὶ συνετελέσθη.

3. Δάμας γάρ τις τῶν ἐνδόξων ἀριθμούμενος ἐν
Συρακούσσαις ἐρωτικῶς διετέθη πρὸς τὸν Ἀγαθο-
κλέα καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον δαψιλῶς ἅπαντα χορηγῶν
αἴτιος ἐγένετο σύμμετρον αὐτὸν οὐσίαν συλλέξα-
σθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αἱρεθεὶς ἐπ' Ἀκράγαντα στρα-
τηγός, ἐπειδὴ τῶν χιλιάρχων τις ἀπέθανεν, τοῦτον
2 εἰς τὸν ἐκείνου τόπον κατέστησεν. ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸ
τῆς στρατείας μὲν ἦν πολύσεμνος διὰ τὸ μέγεθος
τῶν ὅπλων· ἐπετήδευσε γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἐξοπλισίαις[3]
φορεῖν πανοπλίαν τηλικαύτην τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε μη-
δένα τῶν ἄλλων δύνασθαι ῥᾳδίως χρῆσθαι τῷ βά-

[1] μετῴκησεν Wesseling: μετῴκισεν.
[2] Κρημισσῷ RX, Κριμισσῷ F (Κρίμησος Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 25).
[3] ἐξοπλισίαις F: ἐξοπλασίαις RX, Fischer.

[1] This battle on the Crimissus (or Crimisus) River in western Sicily was fought in 341. The general grant of citizenship is placed after the battle by Diodorus (here and in

his whole household. Since he was poor he taught 317 B.C.
Agathocles the trade of pottery while he was still a boy.

At this time Timoleon the Corinthian, after having defeated the Carthagians in the battle at the Crimissus River, conferred Syracusan citizenship on all who wished.[1] Carcinus was enrolled as a citizen together with Agathocles, and died after living only a short time longer. The mother dedicated a stone image of her son in a certain precinct, and a swarm of bees settled upon it and built their honeycomb about its hips. When this prodigy was reported to those who devoted themselves to such matters, all of them declared that at the prime of his life the boy would attain great fame; and this prophecy was fulfilled.

3. A certain Damas, who was counted among the notable men of Syracuse, fell in love with Agathocles and since in the beginning he supplied him lavishly with everything, was the cause of his accumulating a suitable property[2]; and thereafter, when Damas had been elected general against Acragas and one of his chiliarchs died, he appointed Agathocles in his place.[3] Even before his military service Agathocles had been much respected on account of the great size of his armour, for in military reviews he was in the habit of wearing equipment so heavy that no one of the others was able to use it handily because of the

Book 16. 82. 5), but some years before it by Plutarch (*Timoleon*, 23. 2). If Plutarch is correct, Polybius (see preceding note) may have confused the arrival in Syracuse and the grant of citizenship.

[2] Cp. Polybius, 12. 15. 2. In Justin (22. 1. 12) the name of Agathocles' benefactor is given as Damascon.

[3] Here a "chiliarch" is a commander of a thousand, but cp. Book 18. 39. 7 and note. For the early military career of Agathocles cp. Justin, 22. 1. 7-16.

ρει τῶν ὅπλων· πολὺ δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον γενόμενος χιλίαρχος περιεποιήσατο δόξαν, φιλοκίνδυνος μὲν ὢν καὶ παράβολος ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ἰταμὸς δὲ καὶ πρόχειρος ἐν ταῖς δημηγορίαις. τοῦ δὲ Δάμαντος νόσῳ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καταλιπόντος τῇ γυναικὶ ταύτην ἔγημε καὶ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων εἷς ἠριθμεῖτο.

3 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα Κροτωνιάταις πολιορκουμένοις ὑπὸ Βρεττίων οἱ Συρακόσιοι δύναμιν ἁδρὰν ἔπεμψαν, ἧς ἐστρατήγει μὲν μεθ' ἑτέρων Ἄντανδρος ὁ Ἀγαθοκλέους ἀδελφός, τῶν δ' ὅλων εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Σώστρατος,[1] ἄνδρες ἐν ἐπιβουλαῖς καὶ φόνοις καὶ μεγάλοις ἀσεβήμασι γεγονότες τὸν πλείω τοῦ βίου· περὶ ὧν τὰ κατὰ
4 μέρος ἡ πρὸ ταύτης περιέχει βύβλος. συνεστρατεύετο δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀγαθοκλῆς, ἐγνωσμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τεταγμένος ἐπὶ χιλιαρχικῆς ἡγεμονίας, ὃς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους μάχαις γενόμενος κράτιστος ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σώστρατον ἀφῃρέθη τὴν τῶν ἀριστείων τιμὴν διὰ
5 τὸν φθόνον. ἐφ' οἷς περιαλγὴς γενόμενος αὐτοὺς διεγνωκότας[2] ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι κατηγόρησεν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων ταῖς διαβολαῖς οἱ μὲν περὶ Σώστρατον ἐδυνάστευσαν τῆς πατρίδος μετὰ τὴν ἐκ Κρότωνος ἐπάνοδον.

4. Ὁ δ' Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἀλλοτρίως ἔχων τὰ πρὸς

[1] Σώστρατος RX, Σωσίστρατος F (and so usually where the name is found).

[2] Kallenberg, followed by Fischer, adds ὡς before διεγνωκότας.

[1] About 325.

[2] It is disputed whether this Heracleides is the uncle of

weight of the armour. When he became a chiliarch, 317 B.C.
he gained even more fame since he was venturesome and daring in battle and bold and ready in haranguing the people. When Damas died of illness and left his property to his wife, Agathocles married her and was counted among the richest men.

Thereafter when the people of Croton were being besieged by the Bruttii, the Syracusans sent a strong force to their aid.[1] Antandrus, the brother of Agathocles, was one of the generals of this army, but the commanders of the whole were Heracleides and Sostratus,[2] men who had spent the greater part of their lives in plots, murders, and great impieties; their careers in detail are contained in the Book before this one.[3] Agathocles also took part in that campaign with them, having been recognized for his ability by the people and assigned to the rank of chiliarch. Although he had distinguished himself at first in the battles with the barbarians, he was deprived of the award for his deeds of valour by Sostratus and his friends because of jealousy. Agathocles was deeply offended at them and denounced before the people their resolve to establish an autocratic government. As the people of Syracuse paid no attention to the charges, the cabal of Sostratus did gain control of their native city after the return from Croton.

4. Since Agathocles was hostile to them, he re-

Agathocles mentioned above (chap. 2. 5). The identity is maintained by Lenschau (P.-W., *Realencyclopädie*, 8. 462, *s.v.* "Heracleides"), but tacitly denied by Niese (*ibid.* 1. 749, *s.v.* "Agathocles") and by Cary (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 7. 618-619). The manuscripts of Diodorus support the spelling Sostratus for his colleague's name; but many modern authors call him Sosistratus.

[3] Book 18 in its present condition contains nothing at all about either Sicily or Italy (cp. chap. 10. 3).

αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κατέμενεν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ μετὰ
τῶν κοινοπραγούντων καὶ καταλαμβάνεσθαι τὴν
τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν πόλιν ἐπιχειρήσας ἐξέπεσε καὶ
μετ' ὀλίγων εἰς Τάραντα διεσώθη. ταχθεὶς δὲ
παρὰ τοῖς Ταραντίνοις ἐν τῇ τῶν μισθοφόρων τάξει
καὶ πολλαῖς καὶ παραβόλοις ἐγχειρῶν πράξεσιν εἰς
2 ὑποψίαν ἦλθε καινοτομεῖν. διόπερ ἀπολυθεὶς καὶ
ταύτης τῆς στρατείας συνήθροισε τοὺς κατὰ τὴν
Ἰταλίαν φυγάδας καὶ Ῥηγίνοις πολεμουμένοις ὑπὸ
τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Σώστρατον ἐβοή-
3 θησεν. ἔπειτα τῆς ἐν Συρακούσσαις δυναστείας
καταλυθείσης καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Σώστρατον φυγόν-
των κατῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. συνεκπεσόντων δὲ
τοῖς δυνάσταις πολλῶν ἐνδόξων ἀνδρῶν, ὡς ἂν τῆς
ὀλιγαρχίας κεκοινωνηκότων τῆς τῶν ἑξακοσίων
τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων, ἐνέστη πόλεμος τοῖς φυγάσι
πρὸς τοὺς ἀντεχομένους τῆς δημοκρατίας. συμ-
μαχούντων δὲ τῶν Καρχηδονίων τοῖς περὶ τὸν
Σώστρατον φυγάσιν ἐγίνοντο κίνδυνοι συνεχεῖς καὶ
παρατάξεις ἁδρῶν δυνάμεων,[1] ἐν αἷς Ἀγαθοκλῆς,
ποτὲ μὲν ἰδιώτης ὤν, ποτὲ δὲ ἐφ' ἡγεμονίας τεταγ-
μένος, ὑπελήφθη δραστικὸς εἶναι καὶ φιλότεχνος ἐκ
τοῦ πρὸς ἕκαστον τῶν καιρῶν ἐπινοεῖσθαί τι τῶν
χρησίμων· ὧν ἓν ἔπραξε καὶ μάλα μνήμης ἄξιον.
4 στρατοπεδευόντων γάρ ποτε τῶν Συρακοσίων πλη-
σίον τῆς Γέλας αὐτὸς μὲν νυκτὸς παρεισέπεσεν
εἰς τὴν πόλιν μετὰ χιλίων στρατιωτῶν, οἱ δὲ περὶ
τὸν Σώστρατον ἐπιφανέντες μετὰ μεγάλης καὶ

[1] ἁδρῶν δυνάμεων Dindorf: ἀνδρῶν καὶ δυνάμεων.

[1] At this time Croton was controlled by an oligarchy in sympathy with the Six Hundred at Syracuse. In spite of

mained at first in Italy with those who made common 317 B.C.
cause with him. Undertaking to establish himself in Croton,[1] he was driven out and with a few others escaped to Tarentum. While among the Tarentines he was enrolled in the ranks of the mercenaries, and because he took part in many hazardous actions he was suspected of revolutionary designs. When he for this reason was released from this army also, he gathered together the exiles from all parts of Italy and went to the aid of Rhegium, which was then being attacked by Heracleides and Sostratus. Then when the cabal in Syracuse was brought to an end and the party of Sostratus was expelled, Agathocles returned to his own city. Many citizens of repute had been exiled along with the cabal on the ground that they had been members of the oligarchy of the Six Hundred Noblest,[2] and now war arose between these exiles and those who were supporting the democracy. As the Carthaginians became allies of the exiles with Sostratus, there were constant engagements and pitched battles between strong forces, in which Agathocles, sometimes as a private soldier, sometimes appointed to a command, was credited with being energetic and ingenious, for in each emergency he contrived some helpful device. One instance of the kind is well worth mentioning. Once when the Syracusans were in camp near Gela, he stole into the city at night with a thousand men, but Sostratus with a large force in battle array appeared

the failure related in the text, the democracy soon established itself, and in 317-316 repulsed and then destroyed the forces of the oligarchy (cp. chaps 3. 3 and 10. 3-4).

[2] This seems to have been a political coterie rather than a regular governing body (Cary, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 7. 618).

τεταγμένης δυνάμεως ἐτρέψαντο τοὺς παρεισπε-
5 πτωκότας καὶ κατέβαλον εἰς τριακοσίους. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐπιβαλομένων μὲν φεύγειν διά τινος στενοῦ τόπου καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἀπεγνωκότων παραδόξως αὐτοὺς Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο.
6 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ λαμπρότατα πάντων ἀγωνισάμενος ἑπτὰ τραύμασι περιέπεσε καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ ῥυέντος αἵματος τὸ σῶμα παρελύετο· τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ἐπικειμένων παρήγγειλε τοῖς σαλπιγκταῖς ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη τοῦ τείχους παρελθόντας σημαί-
7 νειν τὸ πολεμικόν. ὧν ταχέως τὸ ῥηθὲν πραξάντων οἱ προσβοηθήσαντες ἐκ τῆς Γέλας τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς διὰ τὸ σκότος οὐκ ἠδύναντο συνιδεῖν, ὑπολαβόντες δὲ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν τῶν Συρακοσίων κατ' ἀμφότερα τὰ μέρη παρεισπεπτωκέναι τοῦ μὲν ἔτι διώκειν ἀπέστησαν, διελόμενοι δὲ τὰς τάξεις διχῇ ταχέως ἐβοήθουν, συντρέχοντες πρὸς τὸν ἦχον τῶν σαλπιγκτῶν. ἐν τοσούτῳ δὲ τυχόντες ἀνοχῆς οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας διεσώθησαν εἰς τὸν χάρακα. ἐνταῦθα μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς πολεμίους οὐ μόνον τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ παραδόξως ἔσωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ἑπτακοσίους ἄνδρας.

5. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσσαις αἱρεθέντος Ἀκεστορίδου τοῦ Κορινθίου στρατηγοῦ δόξας ἐπιθέσθαι τυραννίδι διὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ἐξέφυγε τὸν κίνδυνον. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀκεστορίδης εὐλαβηθεὶς τὴν στάσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτὸν φανερῶς ἀνελεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μεταστῆναι καὶ τοὺς νυκτὸς κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀποκτενοῦντας

[1] After the death of Timoleon and in his honour the Syra-

suddenly, routed those who had made their way in, 317 B.C.
and struck down about three hundred of them. When the remainder tried to escape through a certain narrow passage and had abandoned hope of safety, Agathocles unexpectedly saved them from the danger. Fighting most brilliantly of all, he had received seven wounds, and because of the quantity of blood he had lost, he was weak in body ; but when the enemy were upon them, he ordered the trumpeters to go out to the walls on each side and sound the signal for battle. When they quickly carried out the order, those who had sallied out from Gela to give aid were not able to learn the truth because of the darkness, but supposing that the remaining force of the Syracusans had broken in on both sides, they abandoned further pursuit, divided their forces into two parts, and went quickly to meet the danger, running toward the sound made by the trumpeters. In this situation Agathocles and his men gained a respite from fighting and came safe to their fortified camp in complete security. Thus on this occasion, by outwitting the enemy in this way, he not only saved his own companions by a miracle but also seven hundred of the allies.

5. Thereafter, at the time when Acestorides the Corinthian had been elected general in Syracuse,[1] Agathocles was reputed to have made an attempt at tyranny, but he escaped from this danger by his own shrewdness. For Acestorides, who was wary of factional strife and therefore was not willing to destroy him openly, ordered him to leave the city and sent out men to kill him on the road during the night.

cusans passed a law that henceforth they would always elect a Corinthian to lead them in foreign wars (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 38. 2).

2 ἐξαπέστειλεν. Ἀγαθοκλῆς δὲ καταστοχασάμενος
πιθανῶς τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν παίδων
ἐξελέξατο τὸν ἑαυτῷ μάλιστα ἐοικότα καὶ κατὰ τὸ
μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὄψιν· τούτῳ δὲ
δοὺς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πανοπλίαν καὶ τὸν ἵππον, ἔτι δὲ
τὴν ἐσθῆτα παρεκρούσατο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν
3 ἀποσταλέντας. αὐτὸς δὲ ῥάκη περιβαλόμενος
ἀνοδίᾳ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ἐποιήσατο. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἀπὸ
τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συσσήμων ὑπολαβόντες
εἶναι τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα καὶ τἀκριβὲς διὰ τὸ σκότος
οὐ συνιδόντες τὸν μὲν φόνον ἐπετέλεσαν, τῆς δὲ
προκεχειρισμένης πράξεως διήμαρτον.
4 Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν Συρακοσίων καταδεξαμένων
τοὺς μετὰ Σωστράτου φυγάδας καὶ πρὸς Καρχη-
δονίους εἰρήνην συνθεμένων Ἀγαθοκλῆς φυγὰς ὢν
ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ συνεστήσατο. γενό-
μενος δὲ φοβερὸς οὐ μόνον τοῖς πολίταις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις ἐπείσθη κατελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πα-
τρίδα καὶ παραχθεὶς εἰς τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ὑπὸ
τῶν πολιτῶν ὤμοσε μηδὲν ἐναντιωθήσεσθαι[1] τῇ
5 δημοκρατίᾳ. προσποιηθεὶς δὲ τῆς δημοκρατίας
προΐστασθαι καὶ δημαγωγήσας ποικίλως τὰ πλήθη
στρατηγὸς κατεστάθη καὶ φύλαξ τῆς εἰρήνης, μέχρι
ἂν γνησίως ὁμονοήσωσιν οἱ συνεληλυθότες εἰς τὴν
6 πόλιν. εἰς πολλὰ γὰρ μέρη συνέβαινε διαιρεῖσθαι
τὰς ἑταιρίας τῶν συνιόντων καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
ἑκάστοις εἶναι μεγάλας διαφοράς, μέγιστον δ᾽ ἦν
ἀντίταγμα τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα τὸ τῶν ἑξακο-
σίων συνέδριον, κατὰ[2] τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ὑφηγημένον[3]

[1] ἐναντιωθήσεσθαι MSS., Fischer, ἐναντιώσεσθαι Dindorf.
[2] κατὰ Wesseling: μετά.
[3] ὑφηγημένον MSS., Fischer, ἀφηγημένον Wurm, Dindorf.

But Agathocles, who had shrewdly guessed the intention of the general, selected from his slaves the one who was most like himself in stature and face, and by equipping him with his own armour, horse, and even his own clothing, he deceived those who had been dispatched to kill him. As for himself, he put on rags and by avoiding the roads completed the journey. They, supposing from the armour and the other indications that it was Agathocles and not observing more closely because of the darkness, accomplished a murder indeed, but failed to carry out the task that had been assigned to them. 317 B.C.

Afterwards the Syracusans received back those who had been expelled with Sostratus and made peace with the Carthaginians; but Agathocles as an exile gathered together an army of his own in the interior. After he had become an object of dread not only to his own fellow citizens but also to the Carthaginians,[1] he was persuaded to return to his own city; and at the shrine of Demeter, to which he was taken by the citizens, he swore that he would undertake nothing against the democracy. And it was by pretending to be a supporter of democracy and by winning the favour of the people in artful ways that he secured his own election as general and protector of the peace until such time as real harmony might be established among the exiles who had returned to the city. For it happened that the political clubs of those who were holding meetings were divided into many factions and that important differences of opinion existed among them; but the chief group opposed to Agathocles was the society of the Six Hundred,[2] which had directed the city in

[1] Cp. Justin, 22. 2. 1-7.
[2] Cp. note on chap. 4. 3.

τῆς πόλεως· οἱ προέχοντες γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων
ταῖς δόξαις καὶ ταῖς οὐσίαις ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχον
καταλελεγμένοι.

6. Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ἐπιθυμητὴς ὢν δυνα-
στείας πολλὰς ἀφορμὰς ἔσχεν εἰς τὸ συντελέσαι τὸ
βουλευθέν. οὐ μόνον γὰρ στρατηγὸς ὢν κύριος τῆς
δυνάμεως ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαγγελθέντος ὅτι τινὲς
τῶν ἀποστατῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πρὸς Ἐρβίτῃ[1]
συνάγουσι δύναμιν, ἐξουσίαν ἔλαβεν ἀνυπόπτως
2 καταγράφειν οὓς προαιροῖτο στρατιώτας. διὸ καὶ
προσποιηθεὶς στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρβίταν κατ-
έλεξεν εἰς τάξεις τούς τ' ἐκ Μοργαντίνης καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ πόλεων τοὺς αὐτῷ
3 πρότερον συμπορευθέντας πρὸς Καρχηδονίους. οὗ-
τοι γὰρ πάντες πρὸς Ἀγαθοκλέα μὲν εὐνούστατα
διέκειντο, πολλὰ προευεργετημένοι κατὰ τὰς στρα-
τείας, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν Συρακούσσαις ὀλιγαρχίας
κεκοινωνηκότας ἑξακοσίους ἀεὶ πολεμικῶς εἶχον
καὶ καθόλου τὸν δῆμον ἐμίσουν, ἀναγκαζόμενοι
ποιεῖν τὸ προσταττόμενον. τούτων δ' ὄντων μὲν
τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς τρισχιλίους, ταῖς δ' ὁρμαῖς καὶ ταῖς
προαιρέσεσιν εὐθετωτάτων πρὸς τὴν κατάλυσιν τῆς
δημοκρατίας, προσεπελέξατο καὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς
διὰ πενίαν καὶ φθόνον ἐναντιουμένους ταῖς τῶν
4 ἰσχυόντων ἐπιφανείαις. ὡς δ' αὐτῷ πάντ' ἦν εὐ-
τρεπῆ, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις παρήγγειλεν ἀπαντᾶν
ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ Τιμολεόντιον, αὐτὸς δὲ μετα-
πεμπόμενος τοὺς περὶ Πείσαρχον καὶ Διοκλέα,[2]
τοὺς δοκοῦντας προεστάναι τῆς τῶν ἑξακοσίων
ἑταιρίας, ὡς περί τινων κοινῇ συμφερόντων δια-

[1] Ἐρβίτῃ MSS., Fischer, Ἑρβίτῃ Dindorf.
[2] Διοκλέα Wesseling: Δεκλέα.

the time of the oligarchy; for the Syracusans who were first in reputation and in property had been enrolled in this society. 317 B.C.

6. Agathocles, who was greedy for power, had many advantages for the accomplishment of his design. Not only as general was he in command of the army, but moreover, when news came that some rebels were assembling an army in the interior near Erbita, without rousing suspicion he obtained authority to enrol as soldiers what men he chose. Thus by feigning a campaign against Erbita he enrolled in the army the men of Morgantina and the other cities of the interior who had previously served with him against the Carthaginians. All these were very firmly attached to Agathocles, having received many benefits from him during the campaigns, but they were unceasingly hostile to the Six Hundred, who had been members of the oligarchy in Syracuse, and hated the populace in general because they were forced to carry out its orders. These soldiers numbered about three thousand, being both by inclination and by deliberate choice most suitable tools for the overthrow of the democracy. To them he added those of the citizens who because of poverty and envy were hostile to the pretensions of the powerful. As soon as he had everything ready, he ordered the soldiers to report at daybreak at the Timoleontium[1]; and he himself summoned Peisarchus and Diocles, who were regarded as the leaders of the society of the Six Hundred, as if he wished to consult them on some matter

[1] A gymnasium built about the tomb of Timoleon (Plutarch, *Timoleon*, 39. 4).

λεξόμενος, ἐπειδὴ παρεγένοντο παραλαβόντες τῶν φίλων εἰς τεσσαράκοντα, προσποιηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι συνελάμβανεν ἅπαντας καὶ κατηγόρησε μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις, φήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ἁρπάζεσθαι διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὔνοιαν, καὶ κατωδύρετο τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν τύχην.
5 παροξυνομένου δὲ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ βοῶντος μηκέτι μέλλειν, ἀλλ' ἐκ χειρὸς ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς ἀδικήσασι τὴν δίκην, τοῖς μὲν σαλπιγκταῖς παρήγγειλε σημαίνειν τὸ πολεμικόν, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς αἰτίους καὶ διαρπάζειν τὰς κτήσεις τῶν ἑξακοσίων
6 καὶ τῶν τούτοις κοινοπραγούντων. ὁρμησάντων δὲ πάντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη ταραχῆς καὶ μεγάλων ἀτυχημάτων· οἱ μὲν γὰρ χαριέστατοι τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν καθ' αὐτῶν κεκυρωμένον ὄλεθρον, ἐξεπήδων ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς τὰς ὁδούς, μαθεῖν σπεύδοντες τὸν θόρυβον, οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τὰ μὲν διὰ τὴν πλεονεξίαν, τὰ δὲ διὰ τὸν θυμὸν ἠγριωμένοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἀνῄρουν τοὺς διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν γυμνὰ τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀμυνουμένων[1] ὅπλων παρεχομένους.

7. Διαληφθέντων δὲ τῶν στενωπῶν κατὰ[2] μέρος ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὰς ὁδούς, οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐφονεύοντο. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ τῶν μηδ' ὁτιοῦν διαβεβλημένων ἀνῃροῦντο, δεόμενοι μαθεῖν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀπωλείας. καθωπλισμένον γὰρ πλῆθος ἐξουσίαν προσλαβὸν οὐ διέκρινε φίλον ἢ πολέμιον, ἀλλὰ παρ' οὗ πλέον ὠφεληθήσεσθαι[3]
2 διειλήφει, τοῦτον ἐχθρὸν ἡγεῖτο. διὸ καὶ παρῆν ὁρᾶν πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πεπληρωμένην ὕβρεως καὶ

[1] ἀμυνουμένων Capps : ἀμυνομένων.
[2] Hertlein adds τῶν before κατὰ.

of common interest. When they had come bringing with them some forty of their friends, Agathocles, pretending that he himself was being plotted against, arrested all of them, accused them before the soldiers, saying that he was being seized by the Six Hundred because of his sympathy for the common people, and bewailed his fate. When, however, the mob was aroused and with a shout urged him not to delay but to inflict the just penalty on the wrongdoers out of hand, he gave orders to the trumpeters to give the signal for battle and to the soldiers to kill the guilty persons and to plunder the property of the Six Hundred and their supporters. All rushed out to take part in the plunder, and the city was filled with confusion and great calamity; for the members of the aristocratic class, not knowing the destruction that had been ordained for them, were dashing out of their homes into the streets in their eagerness to learn the cause of the tumult, and the soldiers, made savage both by greed and by anger, kept killing these men who, in their ignorance of the situation, were presenting their bodies bare of any arms that would protect them. 317 B.C.

7. The narrow passages were severally occupied by soldiers, and the victims were murdered, some in the streets, some in their houses. Many, too, against whom there had been no charge whatever, were slain when they sought to learn the cause of the massacre. For the armed mob having seized power did not distinguish between friend and foe, but the man from whom it had concluded most profit was to be gained, him it regarded as an enemy. Therefore one could see the whole city filled with outrage, slaughter, and

[3] ὠφεληθήσεσθαι MSS., Fischer, ὠφελήσεσθαι Dindorf.

φόνων καὶ παντοίων ἀνομημάτων. οἱ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὰς προϋπαρχούσας ἔχθρας οὐδεμιᾶς ἐπηρείας ἀπείχοντο κατὰ τῶν μισουμένων, ἔχοντες ἐξουσίαν διατιθέναι πᾶν τὸ κεχαρισμένον τῷ θυμῷ· οἱ δὲ ταῖς τῶν εὐπόρων σφαγαῖς οἰόμενοι τὰς ἰδίας ἀπορίας[1] ἐπανορθώσασθαι[2] πᾶν ἐμηχανῶντο πρὸς τὸν κατ'
3 αὐτῶν ὄλεθρον. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὰς αὐλείους[3] θύρας ἐξέκοπτον, οἱ δὲ διὰ κλιμάκων ἐπὶ τὰς ὀροφὰς προσανέβαινον, ἄλλοι δὲ διηγωνίζοντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν στεγῶν ἀμυνομένους. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῖς εἰς τὰ τεμένη καταφυγοῦσιν ἡ τῶν θεῶν ἱκετεία παρείχετο τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσέ-
4 βεια ἐνικᾶτο πρὸς ἀνθρώπων. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐτόλμων ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ πατρίδι παρανομεῖν Ἕλληνες καθ' Ἑλλήνων, οἰκεῖοι κατὰ συγγενῶν, οὐ φύσιν, οὐ σπονδάς, οὐ θεοὺς ἐντρεπόμενοι, ἐφ' οἷς οὐχ ὅτι φίλος, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντελῶς ἐχθρός, μέτριός γε τὴν ψυχήν, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις οὐκ ἂν τὴν τῶν πασχόντων τύχην ἐλεήσειεν.

8. Πᾶσαι μὲν γὰρ αἱ πύλαι τῆς πόλεως ἐκλείσθησαν, πλείους δὲ τῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἀνῃρέθησαν αὐθημερόν, τοῦτο μόνον ἐγκληθέντες ὅτι χαριέστεροι τῶν ἄλλων ἦσαν. τῶν δὲ φυγόντων οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰς πύλας ὁρμήσαντες συνελήφθησαν, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῶν τειχῶν ῥίπτοντες αὑτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας πόλεις διεσώθησαν, τινὲς δὲ διὰ τὸν φόβον
2 ἀπρονοήτως ἁλλόμενοι κατεκρημνίσθησαν. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος ἦν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἑξακισχιλίους, ὧν οἱ πλεῖστοι κατέφυγον πρὸς τοὺς Ἀκραγαντίνους κἀκεῖ τῆς καθηκούσης ἐπι-

[1] ἀπορίας Stephanus: εὐπορίας (but second hand of R gives ἀπορίας).

all manner of lawlessness. For some men because of long-existing hatred abstained from no form of insult against the objects of their enmity now that they had the opportunity to accomplish whatever seemed to gratify their rage; others, thinking by the slaughter of the wealthy to redress their own poverty, left no means untried for their destruction. Some broke down the doors of houses, others mounted to the housetops on ladders, still others struggled against men who were defending themselves from the roofs; not even to those who fled into the temples did their prayers to the gods bring safety, but reverence due the gods was overthrown by men. In time of peace and in their own city Greeks dared commit these crimes against Greeks, relatives against kinsfolk, respecting neither common humanity nor solemn compacts nor gods, crimes such that there is no one—I do not say no friend but not even any deadly enemy if he but have a spark of compassion in his soul—who would not pity the fate of the victims. 317 B.C.

8. All the gates of the city were closed, and more than four thousand persons were slain on that day whose only crime was to be of gentler birth than the others. Of those who fled, some who rushed for the gates were arrested, while others who cast themselves from the walls escaped to the neighbouring cities; some, however, who in panic cast themselves down before they looked, crashed headlong to their doom. The number of those who were driven from their native city was more than six thousand, most of whom fled to the people of Acragas where they were

[2] ἐπανορθώσασθαι MSS., Fischer, ἐπανορθώσεσθαι Dindorf.
[3] αὐλείους Dindorf: αὐλίους MSS., Fischer.

3 μελείας ἠξιώθησαν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀγαθοκλέα διημερεύσαντες ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολιτῶν φόνοις οὐδὲ[1] τῆς εἰς γυναῖκας ὕβρεως καὶ παρανομίας ἀπέσχοντο, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐκπεφευγότων τὸν θάνατον ἱκανὴν ὑπελάμβανον λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν τὴν εἰς τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἐπήρειαν· δεινότερα γὰρ θανάτου τοὺς μὲν ἄνδρας καὶ πατέρας εἰκὸς ἦν πείσεσθαι γυναικῶν ὕβρεις καὶ παρθένων αἰσχύνας ἀναλογιζομένους.
4 ἀφ' ὧν ἡμῖν περιαιρετέον ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ συνήθη τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τραγῳδίαν, μάλιστα μὲν διὰ τὸν τῶν παθόντων ἔλεον, ἔπειτα καὶ διὰ τὸ μηθένα τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων ἐπιζητεῖν ἀκοῦσαι τὰ
5 κατὰ μέρος, ἐν ἑτοίμῳ τῆς γνώσεως οὔσης. οἱ γὰρ μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν σφάττειν τολμῶντες τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας οὐ προσδέονται τοῦ δηλώσοντος τί νύκτωρ ἔπραττον καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ πῶς προσεφέροντο παρθένοις ὀρφαναῖς καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐρήμοις μὲν οὔσαις τῶν βοηθησόντων, πεπτωκυίαις δ' ὑπ' ἐξουσίαν
6 αὐτοκράτορα τῶν ἐχθίστων. ὁ δ' Ἀγαθοκλῆς δυεῖν ἡμερῶν διελθουσῶν ἐπειδή ποτ' ἐπληρώθη τοῦ κατὰ τῶν πολιτῶν φόνου, τοὺς ζωγρηθέντας ἀθροίσας Δεινοκράτην μὲν ἀφῆκε διὰ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν, τῶν ἄλλων δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτριώτατα διακειμένους ἀνεῖλε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐφυγάδευσε.

9. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν κατηγόρησε μὲν τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτῶν προγεγενημένης ὀλιγαρχίας, καθαρὰν δὲ φήσας τὴν πόλιν πεποιηκέναι τῶν δυναστεύειν ἐπιχειρούντων ἀπεφαίνετο τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν εἰλικρινῆ

[1] οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε.

accorded proper care. The party of Agathocles 317 B.C. spent the day in the murder of their fellow citizens, nor did they abstain from outrage and crime against women, but they thought that those who had escaped death would be sufficiently punished by the violation of their kindred. For it was reasonable to suppose that the husbands and fathers would suffer something worse than death when they thought of the violence done their wives and the shame inflicted upon their unmarried daughters. We must keep our account of these events free from the artificially tragic tone that is habitual with historians, chiefly because of our pity for the victims, but also because no one of our readers has a desire to hear all the details when his own understanding can readily supply them. For men who by day in the streets and throughout the market place were bold to butcher those who had done no harm need no writer to set forth what they did at night when by themselves in the homes, and how they conducted themselves toward orphaned maidens and toward women who were bereft of any to defend them and had fallen into the absolute power of their direst enemies. As for Agathocles, when two days had passed, since he was now sated with the slaughter of his fellow citizens, after gathering together the prisoners, he let Deinocrates go because of their former friendship, but of the others he killed those who were most bitterly hostile and exiled the rest.

9. Next he called together the Assembly and accused the Six Hundred and the oligarchy that they had brought into existence, saying that he had cleansed the state of those men who were trying to become her masters; and he proclaimed that he was restoring liberty undefiled to the people, and that he

παραδιδόναι καὶ βούλεσθαί ποτε τῶν πόνων ἀπο-
2 λυθεὶς ἰδιωτεύειν ἴσος ὢν πᾶσι. καὶ ταῦτα λέγων
τὸ μὲν χλαμύδιον αὑτοῦ περιέσπασε, τὸ δ᾽ ἱμάτιον
μεταλαβὼν ἀπῄει, τῶν πολλῶν ἑαυτὸν ἀποδείξας
ἕνα. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἔπραττε τὸν δημοτικὸν ὑποκρινό-
μενος καὶ σαφῶς εἰδὼς τοὺς πλείους τῶν ἐκκλη-
σιαζόντων μετεσχηκότας τῶν ἀσεβημάτων καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο μηδέποτ᾽ ἂν βουληθέντας ἄλλῳ τὴν στρατη-
3 γίαν ἐγχειρίσαι. εὐθὺ γοῦν οἱ διαπεφορηκότες τὰ
τῶν ἠτυχηκότων ἐβόων μὴ καταλιπεῖν ἑαυτούς,
ἀλλὰ προσδέξασθαι τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἐπιμέλειαν. ὁ
δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, εἶτα τοῦ πλήθους
βιαιότερον ἐγκειμένου προσδέχεσθαι[1] μὲν ἔφησε τὴν
4 στρατηγίαν, μὴ μέντοι γε μετ᾽ ἄλλων ἄρξειν· οὐ
γὰρ ὑπομενεῖν,[2] ὧν ἂν ἕτεροι παρανομήσωσι, τού-
των αὐτὸν συνάρχοντα λόγον ἀποδιδόναι κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους. συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους μοναρχεῖν
οὗτος μὲν ἐχειροτονήθη στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ
τὸ λοιπὸν φανερῶς ἐδυνάστευε καὶ τῆς πόλεως
5 ἐπιμέλειαν ἐποιεῖτο, τῶν δ᾽ ἀκεραίων Συρακοσίων
οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸν φόβον ἠναγκάζοντο καρτερεῖν, οἱ δ᾽
ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους κατισχυόμενοι τὴν ἔχθραν εἰς
κενὸν οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἐνδείκνυσθαι. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ
τῶν ἀπόρων καὶ καταχρέων ἄσμενοι τὴν μετα-
βολὴν προσεδέξαντο· ἐπηγγέλλετο γὰρ Ἀγαθοκλῆς
κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ποιήσε-
6 σθαι καὶ τοῖς πένησι χώραν δωρήσεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ
τούτων γενόμενος τοῦ μὲν ἔτι φονεύειν ἢ κολάζειν
τινὰς ἀπέστη, μεταβαλόμενος δ᾽ εἰς τοὐναντίον

[1] προσδέχεσθαι Capps, προσδέξεσθαι Dindorf: προσδέξασθαι MSS., Fischer.
[2] ὑπομενεῖν Dindorf: ὑπομένειν.

wished to be relieved at last of his burdens and become a private citizen on terms of equality with all. 317 B.C.
As he said this, he tore off his military cloak and, assuming civil garb, set out to leave, showing that he himself was one of the many. But in doing this he was merely playing the part of a democrat with full knowledge that the majority of the members of the Assembly had had a share in his unholy acts and for this reason would not be willing to vote the generalship to anyone else. At any rate, those who had plundered the property of the victims instantly cried out, begging him not to leave them but to accept the general administration of the state. At first he maintained silence; then, as the mob pressed more insistently upon him, he said that he accepted the generalship, but that he would not rule jointly with others, for he would not consent as one member of a board to be held legally accountable for acts illegally committed by the others. Since the majority agreed that he should rule alone, he was elected general with absolute power,[1] and thereafter he openly exercised authority and governed the city. Of the Syracusans who were uncorrupted, some were forced to endure in patience because of their fears, and others, outmatched by the mob, did not venture to make an unavailing display of their hostility. On the other hand, many of those who were poor and involved in debt welcomed the revolution, for Agathocles promised in the Assembly both to abolish debts and to distribute land to the poor. When he had finished with these matters, he made an end of further slaughter and punishment. With a complete change of humour he showed himself affable to the common

[1] In 317.

εὐγνωμόνως τοῖς πλήθεσι προσεφέρετο καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν εὐεργετῶν, οὐκ ὀλίγους δ' ἐπαγγελίαις μετεωρίζων, πάντας δὲ λόγοις φιλανθρώποις δημ-
7 αγωγῶν οὐ μετρίας ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανεν. ἔχων δὲ τηλικαύτην δυναστείαν οὔτε διάδημα ἀνέλαβεν οὔτε δορυφόρους εἶχεν οὔτε δυσεντευξίαν ἐζήλωσεν, ἅπερ εἰώθασι ποιεῖν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες οἱ τύραννοι. ἐπεμελήθη δὲ καὶ τῶν προσόδων καὶ τῆς τῶν ὅπλων καὶ βελῶν παρασκευῆς, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις μακραῖς ναυσὶν ἑτέρας ἐναυπηγήσατο. προσελάβετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ μεσογείῳ χωρίων καὶ πόλεων τὰς πλείστας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Σικελίαν ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

10. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ἔνατον ἔτος ἤδη διεπολέμουν πρὸς Σαυνίτας καὶ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνους μεγάλαις δυνάμεσιν ἦσαν διηγωνισμένοι, τότε δὲ εἰς τὴν πολεμίαν εἰσβολὰς ποιούμενοι μέγα μὲν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ μνήμης ἄξιον διεπράξαντο, διετέλουν δὲ τοῖς τε φρουρίοις προσβολὰς ποιούμενοι καὶ τὴν χώραν λεηλατοῦντες.
2 ἐπόρθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἀπουλίας τὴν Δαυνίαν πᾶσαν καὶ προσαγαγόμενοι Κανυσίους ὁμήρους παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον. προσέθηκαν δὲ καὶ δύο φυλὰς ταῖς προϋπαρχούσαις, τήν τε Φαλέρναν καὶ τὴν Ὠφεν-
3 τῖναν. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Κροτωνιᾶται πρὸς μὲν Βρεττίους διελύσαντο, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐκπεπτωκότας τῶν πολιτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς δημοκρατίας διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Σώστρατον[1] κοινωνίαν, περὶ ἧς ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ βύβλῳ τὰ κατὰ μέρος διήλ-

[1] Here all MSS. read Σωσίστρατον; cp. critical note on chap. 3. 3.

people and won no slight popularity by aiding many, 317 B.C.
by encouraging no small number with promises, and by currying favour from all by philanthropic words. Although he possessed such power, he neither assumed a diadem, nor employed a bodyguard, nor affected a haughty demeanour, as is the custom of almost all tyrants. He kept a careful watch over the public revenues and over the preparation of armour and weapons, and he had warships constructed in addition to those already at hand. He also gained control of most of the regions and cities of the interior.

This, then, was the situation in Sicily.[1]

10. In Italy[2] the Romans were now in the ninth year of their war with the Samnites. Although in the previous period they had fought with large forces, at this time they accomplished nothing great or worthy of mention by the incursions that they were making upon the hostile territory; yet they did not cease attacking the strongholds and plundering the country. In Apulia also they plundered all Daunia and won back the Canusians, from whom they took hostages. They added two new tribes to those already existing: Falerna and Oufentina. While this was going on, the people of Croton made peace with the Bruttii, but they were still waging war against those of their own citizens who had been exiled by the democracy because of their alliance with Heracleides and Sostratus, about which we have told in detail in the preceding Book.[3] This war was now in

[1] Continued in chap. 65. Sicilian affairs are not mentioned in the account of the year 316/15 (chaps. 17-54).

[2] Cp. Livy, 9. 20 for the events of this year.

[3] Cp. chaps. 3. 3 and 4. 1. There is no mention of this in Book 18.

θομεν, δεύτερον ἔτος ἤδη πολεμοῦντες Πάρωνα καὶ Μενέδημον, ἄνδρας ἐπιφανεῖς, στρατηγοὺς ἐχειρο-
4 τόνησαν. οἱ δὲ φυγάδες ἐκ Θουρίων ὁρμήσαντες καὶ προσλαβόντες μισθοφόρους τριακοσίους ἐπεχείρησαν μὲν νυκτὸς παρεισπίπτειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα, ἀποκρουσθέντες δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Κροτωνιατῶν κατεστρατοπέδευσαν ἐπὶ τῶν μεθορίων τῆς Βρεττίων χώρας, μετ' ὀλίγον δὲ τῆς πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως ἐπελθούσης πολλαπλασίου πάντες μαχόμενοι κατεσφάγησαν.

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ περὶ Σικελίαν καὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν διεληλύθαμεν, διαβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὰ λοιπὰ μέρη τῆς Εὐρώπης.

11. Κατὰ γὰρ τὴν Μακεδονίαν Εὐρυδίκη, τῆς βασιλείας προεστηκυῖα καὶ πυνθανομένη τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς τὴν κάθοδον, πρὸς μὲν Κάσανδρον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπέστειλε βιβλιαφόρον, ἀξιοῦσα βοηθεῖν τὴν ταχίστην, τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τοὺς πρακτικωτάτους ἀνακαλουμένη δωρεαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις ἰδίους ταῖς εὐ-
2 νοίαις κατεσκεύαζε. Πολυπέρχων δὲ δύναμιν ἤθροισε προσλαβόμενος Αἰακίδην τὸν Ἠπειρώτην καὶ κατήγαγεν Ὀλυμπιάδα μετὰ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου παιδὸς ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. ἀκούων οὖν Εὐρυδίκην ἐν Εὐίοις τῆς Μακεδονίας οὖσαν μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτήν, σπεύδων μιᾷ μάχῃ κρῖναι τὰ πράγματα. ἀντιταχθέντων δὲ ἀλλήλοις τῶν στρατοπέδων οἱ Μακεδόνες ἐντραπέντες τὸ τῆς

[1] Menedemus later became tyrant of Croton (Book 21. frag. 4 Dindorf).

[2] Diodorus returns to the affairs of Sicily and Italy in chap. 65. They are not mentioned in the account of the year 316/15 (chaps. 17-54).

its second year, Paron and Menedemus,[1] both out- 317 B.C.
standing men, having been elected generals. The exiles, setting out from Thurii and taking with them three hundred mercenaries, tried to enter their native city by night, were driven off by the people of Croton, and encamped on the boundaries of the land of the Bruttii. Soon afterwards, however, they were attacked by the army of citizens, which far outnumbered them, and all were slaughtered in the fight.

Now that we have finished the affairs of Sicily and Italy, we turn to the remaining parts of Europe.[2]

11. In Macedonia, when Eurydicê,[3] who had assumed the administration of the regency, heard that Olympias was making preparations for a return, she sent a courier into the Peloponnesus to Cassander, begging him to come to her aid as soon as possible; and, by plying the most active of the Macedonians with gifts and great promises, she was trying to make them personally loyal to herself. But Polyperchon, with Aeacides of Epirus as his ally, collected an army and restored Olympias and the son of Alexander to the throne. So, as soon as he heard that Eurydicê was at Euia[4] in Macedonia with her army, he hastened against her with the intention of deciding the campaign in a single battle. When, however, the armies were drawn up facing each other, the Macedonians,

[3] She had probably returned to Macedonia with the kings (Book 18. 39. 7). After Antipater's death she sided with Cassander, and acting in the name of Philip she removed Polyperchon from the guardianship (Justin, 14. 5. 1-4). For her struggle with Olympias cp. Justin, 14. 5. 8-10.

[4] This town, whose exact location is unknown, is called by Ptolemy (3. 13. 32) a town of the Dassaretae, an Illyrian tribe living just beyond the Macedonian frontier.

Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀξίωμα καὶ τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀναμι-
3 μνησκόμενοι τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου μετεβάλοντο. Φίλ-
ιππος μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς ἥλω μετὰ τῆς
θεραπείας, ἡ δ' Εὐρυδίκη μετὰ Πολυκλέους, ἑνὸς
τῶν συμβούλων, εἰς Ἀμφίπολιν ἀποχωροῦσα συν-
4 ελήφθη. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον Ὀλυμπιὰς τῶν
βασιλικῶν σωμάτων κυριεύσασα καὶ χωρὶς κινδύ-
νων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβοῦσα τὴν εὐτυχίαν οὐκ
ἤνεγκεν ἀνθρωπίνως, ἀλλὰ τήν τ' Εὐρυδίκην καὶ
τὸν ἄνδρα Φίλιππον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον εἰς φυλακὴν
καταθεμένη κακουχεῖν ἐπεχείρησε· περιοικοδομή-
σασα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐν βραχεῖ τόπῳ τὰ σώματα διὰ
5 μιᾶς στενῆς ὑποδοχῆς ἐχορήγει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα· ἐπὶ
πολλὰς δ' ἡμέρας παρανομήσασα τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας,
ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τοῖς Μακεδόσιν ἠδόξει διὰ τὸν πρὸς
τοὺς πάσχοντας ἔλεον, τὸν μὲν Φίλιππον προσέταξε
Θρᾳξί τισιν ἐκκεντῆσαι, βασιλέα γεγενημένον ἓξ
ἔτη καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας, τὴν δ' Εὐρυδίκην παρ-
ρησιαζομένην καὶ βοῶσαν αὑτῇ[1] μᾶλλον προσήκειν
ἤπερ Ὀλυμπιάδι τὴν βασιλείαν ἔκρινε μείζονος
6 ἀξιῶσαι τιμωρίας. εἰσέπεμψεν οὖν αὐτῇ ξίφος καὶ
βρόχον καὶ κώνειον καὶ συνέταξε τούτων ᾧ βού-
λοιτο καταχρήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον, οὔτε τὸ
προγεγενημένον ἀξίωμα τῆς παρανομουμένης ἐν-
τραπεῖσα τὸ παράπαν οὔτε τῆς κοινῆς τύχης εἰς
7 οἶκτον ἐλθοῦσα. τοιγαροῦν τῆς ὁμοίας μεταβολῆς
τυχοῦσα τῆς ὠμότητος ἀξίαν ἔσχε τὴν τοῦ βίου
καταστροφήν. Εὐρυδίκη μὲν γὰρ κατευξαμένη
παρόντος τοῦ κομίσαντος τῶν ὁμοίων δωρεῶν
Ὀλυμπιάδα τυχεῖν τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα περιέστειλεν,
ἐπιμεληθεῖσα τῶν τραυμάτων ὥς ποθ' ὁ καιρὸς

[1] αὑτῇ Dindorf: αὐτῇ.

out of respect for the position of Olympias and re- 317 B.C.
membering the benefits that they had received from
Alexander, changed their allegiance. King Philip
with his court was captured at once, while Eurydicê
was taken as she was making her way to Amphipolis
with Polycles, one of her counsellors. But after
Olympias had thus captured the royal persons and
had seized the kingdom without a fight, she did not
carry her good fortune as a human being should, but
first she placed Eurydicê and her husband Philip
under guard and began to maltreat them. Indeed
she walled them up in a small space and supplied
them with what was necessary through a single
narrow opening. But after she had for many days
unlawfully treated the unfortunate captives, since
she was thereby losing favour with the Macedonians
because of their pity for the sufferers, she ordered
certain Thracians to stab Philip to death, who had
been king for six years and four months; but she
judged that Eurydicê, who was expressing herself
without restraint and declaring that the kingdom
belonged to herself rather than to Olympias, was
worthy of greater punishment. She therefore sent
to her a sword, a noose, and some hemlock, and
ordered her to employ whichever of these she pleased
as a means of death, neither displaying any respect
whatever for the former dignity of the victim whom
she was unlawfully treating, nor moved to pity for the
fate that is common to all. Accordingly, when she
herself met with a similar reversal, she experienced
a death that was worthy of her cruelty. Eurydicê,
indeed, in the presence of the attendant prayed that
like gifts might fall to the lot of Olympias. She next
laid out the body of her husband, cleansing its wounds

συνεχώρει, ἑαυτὴν δ' ἀνακρεμάσασα τῇ ζώνῃ κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, οὔτε δακρύσασα τὴν αὑτῆς τύχην οὔτε τῷ μεγέθει τῶν συμπτωμάτων ταπει-
8 νωθεῖσα. Ὀλυμπιὰς δὲ τούτων διαφθαρέντων ἀνεῖλε μὲν τὸν Νικάνορα τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κασάνδρου, κατέστρεψε δὲ τὸν Ἰόλλου τάφον, μετερχομένη, καθάπερ ἔφησε, τὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου θάνατον, ἐπέλεξε δὲ καὶ τῶν Κασάνδρου φίλων τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἑκατὸν Μακεδόνας, οὓς ἅπαντας ἀπ-
9 έσφαξεν. ἐν τοιούτοις δὲ παρανομήμασι πληροῦσα τὸν ἑαυτῆς θυμὸν ταχὺ πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐποίησε μισῆσαι τὴν ὠμότητα· πάντες γὰρ ἀνεμιμνήσκοντο τῶν Ἀντιπάτρου λόγων, ὃς καθάπερ χρησμῳδῶν ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς παρεκελεύσατο μηδέποτε συγχωρῆσαι γυναικὶ τῆς βασιλείας προστατῆσαι.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Μακεδονίαν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον διοικηθέντα πρόδηλον εἶχε τὴν ἐσομένην μεταβολήν.

12. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Εὐμενὴς μὲν ἔχων τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας Μακεδόνας καὶ τὸν ἀφηγούμενον αὐτῶν Ἀντιγένην παρεχείμασε μὲν τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐν ταῖς ὀνομαζομέναις Καρῶν κώμαις, πρὸς δὲ Σέλευκον καὶ Πίθωνα πρέσβεις ἀπέστειλεν, ἀξιῶν βοηθεῖν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ συναγωνίσα-
2 σθαι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. τούτων δ' ὁ μὲν Πίθων τῆς

[1] Eurydicê died during the summer or fall of 317. She was later given royal burial at Aegae by Cassander (chap. 52. 5). For her death cp. Aelian, *Varia Historia*, 13. 36.

[2] For the reports that Alexander was poisoned by order of

as well as circumstances permitted, then ended her 317 B.C. life by hanging herself with her girdle, neither weeping for her own fate nor humbled by the weight of her misfortunes.[1] After these two had been made away with, Olympias killed Nicanor, Cassander's brother, and overturned the tomb of Iollas, avenging, as she said, the death of Alexander.[2] She also selected the hundred most prominent Macedonians from among the friends of Cassander and slaughtered them all. But by glutting her rage with such atrocities, she soon caused many of the Macedonians to hate her ruthlessness; for all of them remembered the words of Antipater, who, as if uttering a prophecy on his death bed,[3] advised them never to permit a woman to hold first place in the kingdom.

This situation, then, in the internal affairs of Macedonia gave clear indication of the impending revolution.[4]

12. In Asia[5] Eumenes with the Macedonian Silver Shields and their commander Antigenes wintered in the villages of Babylonia known as the villages of the Carians.[6] He sent embassies to Seleucus and Pithon asking them to aid the kings and to join him in the struggle against Antigonus. Of these men, Pithon

Antipater cp. Book 17. 118. 1-2; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 77. 1; Curtius, 10. 10. 14-19; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7. 27. Iollas was another brother of Cassander.

[3] Cp. Book 18. 1. 1.

[4] Continued in chap. 35.

[5] Continued and in part repeated from Book 18. 73. 4.

[6] The winter of 318/17. The villages of the Carians (or of the Carae) are probably the same as the villages "called the Carae" which Alexander passed through (Book 17. 110. 3) and are not to be identified with the Carae of chap. 91. 1, which is the well-known city of Carrhae in Mesopotamia (Weissbach in P.-W., *Realencyclopädie*, 10. 1925, *s.v.* "Κάραι").

Μηδίας, ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῆς Βαβυλωνίας σατράπης ἀπεδέδεικτο, καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἡ δευτέρα διαίρεσις ἐγενήθη τῶν σατραπειῶν ἐν Τριπαραδείσῳ. οἱ δὲ περὶ Σέλευκον τοῖς μὲν βασιλεῦσιν ἔφασαν βούλεσθαι παρέχεσθαι χρείας, Εὐμενεῖ μέντοι γε μηδέποθ' ὑπομενεῖν ποιοῦντας τὸ προσταττόμενον, οὗ Μακεδόνες συνελθόντες κατέγνωσαν θάνατον. πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς ταύτην τὴν προαίρεσιν διαλεχθέντες συνεξέπεμψαν παρ' αὐτῶν πρεσβευτὴν πρὸς Ἀντιγένην καὶ τοὺς ἀργυράσπιδας, ἀξιοῦντες ἀφιστάναι
3 τῆς ἡγεμονίας Εὐμενῆ. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων οὐ προσεχόντων τοῖς λόγοις Εὐμενὴς ἐπαινέσας αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν ἀνέζευξε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ παραγενηθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν κατεστρατοπέδευσε, τῆς Βαβυλῶνος ἀπέχων σταδίους τριακοσίους. καὶ πρόθεσιν μὲν εἶχεν εἰς Σοῦσα ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν, διανοούμενος τὰς ἐκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν δυνάμεις μεταπέμπεσθαι καὶ τοῖς βασιλικοῖς θησαυροῖς χρήσασθαι πρὸς τὰς κατεπειγούσας
4 χρείας. ἠναγκάζετο δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν διαβαίνειν διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν κατόπιν χώραν προνενομεῦσθαι τὴν δὲ πέραν ἀκέραιον εἶναι καὶ δαψιλεῖς δύνασθαι παρέχε-
5 σθαι τροφὰς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ. συναγαγόντος οὖν αὐτοῦ πλοῖα πανταχόθεν πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον καὶ Πίθωνα κατέπλευσαν δυσὶ μὲν τριήρεσι, κοντωτοῖς δὲ πλείοσιν· ἔτι γὰρ τὰ σκάφη ταῦτα περιῆν[1] ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου ναυπηγηθέντων περὶ Βαβυλῶνα.

[1] περιῆν Stephanus: περὶ γῆν ἦν.

[1] Cp. Book 18. 39. 6. [2] Cp. Book 18. 37. 2.
[3] About 34½ miles. He crossed Mesopotamia below Babylon.

had been appointed satrap of Media and the other had been named satrap of Babylonia at the time when the second distribution of satrapies was made at Triparadeisus.[1] Seleucus said that he was willing to be of service to the kings, but that nevertheless he would never consent to carrying out the orders of Eumenes, whom the Macedonians in assembly had condemned to death.[2] After much discussion in respect to this policy, they sent an ambassador from themselves to Antigenes and the Silver Shields, asking them to remove Eumenes from his command. Since the Macedonians paid no heed to this message, Eumenes, after praising their loyalty, set out with the army and pitched camp on reaching the Tigris River at a distance of three hundred stades[3] from Babylon. It was his purpose to direct his course to Susa, where he intended to summon the armies from the upper satrapies and to make use of the royal treasure for his urgent needs. He was forced, however, to cross the river because the country behind him had been plundered, whereas that on the other side was untouched and able to furnish abundant food for his army. When he, accordingly, had gathered boats from all sides for the crossing,[4] Seleucus and Pithon sailed down with two triremes and a good many punts, for these craft still survived from those that had been built by Alexander near Babylon.[5]

317 B.C.

[4] Alexander had forded the Tigris, but only with great difficulty and at a point much higher up the stream (Book 17. 55. 3-6).
[5] Arrian (*Anabasis*, 7. 19. 4) speaks of the construction of triremes and other large boats at Babylon after Alexander's return to that city just before his death, but no punts are mentioned.

13. Ταῦτα δὲ προσαγαγόντες πρὸς τὴν ἔκβασιν
πάλιν ἐπεχείρουν τοὺς Μακεδόνας πείθειν ἀπο-
στῆσαι τὸν Εὐμενῆ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ μὴ προάγειν
καθ' αὑτῶν ἄνδρα ξένον καὶ πλείστους Μακεδόνας
2 ἀνῃρηκότα. οὐδενὶ δὲ τρόπῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντι-
γένη πειθομένων οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον προσπλεύσαντες
πρός τινα διώρυγα παλαιὰν ἀνέρρηξαν τὴν ἀρχὴν
αὐτῆς, ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου συγκεχωσμένην. περικλυ-
σθείσης δὲ τῆς τῶν Μακεδόνων στρατοπεδίας καὶ
πάντῃ τοῦ συνεχοῦς τόπου λιμνάσαντος ἐκινδύνευ-
σεν ἅπαν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ τῆς
3 πλήμης. ἐκείνην μὲν οὖν τὴν ἡμέραν ἔμειναν ἐφ'
ἡσυχίας, ἀπορούμενοι πῶς χρηστέον τοῖς πράγμασι·
τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παραστησάμενοι τὰ κοντωτὰ πλοῖα,
περὶ τριακόσια τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντα, διεβίβασαν τὸ
κράτιστον τῆς δυνάμεως οὐδενὸς παρενοχλοῦντος
κατὰ τὴν ἔκβασιν· οἱ γὰρ περὶ Σέλευκον ἱππεῖς
μόνον εἶχον καὶ τούτους πολὺ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς λειπο-
4 μένους τῶν ἐναντίων. νυκτὸς δὲ ἤδη καταλαμβα-
νούσης Εὐμενὴς μὲν ἀγωνιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποσκευῆς
πάλιν εἰς τοὔπισω διεβίβασε τοὺς Μακεδόνας,
εἰσηγησαμένου δέ τινος τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἐπεβάλετό
τινα τόπον ἀνακαθαίρειν, δι' οὗ ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἀπο-
στρέψαι τὴν διώρυγα καὶ βάσιμον κατασκευάσαι
5 τὴν πλησίον χώραν. ἃ δὴ συνιδόντες οἱ περὶ Σέ-
λευκον καὶ βουλόμενοι τὴν ταχίστην αὐτοὺς ἐκ
τῆς ἰδίας σατραπείας ἀπαλλάξαι πρέσβεις ἀπέστει-
λαν ὑπὲρ ἀνοχῶν, συγχωρήσαντες τὴν διάβασιν.
εὐθὺ δὲ καὶ βυβλιαφόρους ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς Ἀντί-
γονον εἰς Μεσοποταμίαν, ἀξιοῦντες ἥκειν τὴν τα-
χίστην μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, πρὶν ἢ καταβῆναι

13. Directing these craft to the landing place, 317 B.C.
Seleucus and Pithon again tried to persuade the Macedonians to remove Eumenes from his command and to cease preferring against their own interests a man who was a foreigner and who had killed very many Macedonians. But when Antigenes and his men were in no way persuaded, Seleucus sailed off to a certain ancient canal and cleared its intake, which had been filled up in the course of time. Since the Macedonian camp was surrounded by water and the neighbouring land on all sides was now inundated, there was danger that the entire encamped army would be destroyed by the flood. On that day the Macedonians remained inactive, not knowing how to deal with the situation; but on the next they brought up the punts, about three hundred in number, and carried the best part of the army across, no one hindering them at the landing; for Seleucus had cavalry only and that too far inferior in number to its opponents. But when night was overtaking them, Eumenes, since he was anxious about the baggage, got the Macedonians back across the river; and under the guidance of one of the inhabitants of the region he began to excavate a certain place through which it was easy to turn the canal and make the neighbouring land passable. Seleucus saw this, and since he wished to get them out of his satrapy as soon as possible, he sent envoys to propose a truce, conceding to Eumenes his passage across the river.[1] But at the same time he also sent dispatch carriers into Mesopotamia to Antigonus, asking him to come with his army as soon as possible before the satraps should

[1] Eumenes was holding the citadel of Babylon, which he had captured in October, 318 (Tarn in *C.A.H.* 6. 477).

6 τοὺς σατράπας μετὰ τῶν δυνάμεων. Εὐμενὴς δὲ
διαβὰς τὸν Τίγριν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν Σου-
σιανὴν εἰς τρία μέρη διεῖλε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τὴν
τοῦ σίτου σπάνιν. ἐπιπορευόμενος δὲ τὴν χώραν
κατὰ μέρος σίτου μὲν παντελῶς ἐσπάνιζεν, ὄρυζαν
δὲ καὶ σήσαμον καὶ φοίνικα διέδωκε τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις, δαψιλῶς ἐχούσης τῆς χώρας τοὺς τοιούτους
7 καρπούς. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις
ἡγεμόνας ἦν μὲν καὶ πρότερον ἀπεσταλκὼς τὰς
παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιστολάς, ἐν αἷς ἦν γεγραμ-
μένον πάντα πειθαρχεῖν Εὐμενεῖ, καὶ τότε δὲ
βυβλιοφόρους ἀπέστειλεν, ἀξιῶν ἀπαντᾶν εἰς τὴν
Σουσιανὴν ἅπαντας μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων δυνάμεων, καθ'
ὃν δὴ χρόνον συνέβη κἀκείνους ἠθροικέναι τὰ
στρατόπεδα καὶ συνδεδραμηκέναι πρὸς ἀλλήλους
δι' ἑτέρας αἰτίας, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀναγκαῖον προειπεῖν.

14. Πίθων σατράπης μὲν ἀπεδέδεικτο Μηδίας,
στρατηγὸς δὲ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν ἁπασῶν γενό-
μενος Φιλώταν μὲν τὸν προϋπάρχοντα Παρθυαίας
στρατηγὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ αὑτοῦ ἀδελφὸν Εὔ-
2 δαμον ἀντὶ τούτου κατέστησεν.[1] οὗ γενομένου συν-
έδραμον οἱ λοιποὶ σατράπαι πάντες, φοβηθέντες
μὴ τὸ παραπλήσιον πάθωσιν, ὄντος τοῦ Πίθωνος
κινητικοῦ καὶ μεγάλα ταῖς[2] ἐπιβολαῖς περιβαλο-
μένου. περιγενόμενοι δ' αὐτοῦ μάχῃ καὶ πολλοὺς
τῶν συναγωνισαμένων ἀνελόντες ἐξήλασαν ἐκ τῆς
3 Παρθυαίας. κἀκεῖνος τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀνεχώρησεν
εἰς Μηδίαν, μετ' ὀλίγον δ' εἰς τὴν Βαβυλῶνα παρα-

[1] γενόμενος Φιλώταν . . . κατέστησεν Fischer, γενόμενος Φίλιππον . . . κατέστησεν Wesseling: γενόμενος Παρθυαῖος ὃς Φιλώταν μὲν τὸν προυπάρχοντα στρατηγὸν ἀπέκτεινεν, τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ (αὐτοῦ δὲ τὸν X) ἀδελφὸν Εὔδαμον ἀντὶ τούτου κατέστησεν RVX, γενόμενος Παρθυαίας Φιλώταν μὲν τὸν προυπάρχοντα στρατηγὸν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ δ' ἀδελφὸν Εὔδαμον ἀντὶ τούτου κατέστησεν F.

[2] μεγάλα ταῖς Reiske; μεγάλαις.

arrive with their forces. Eumenes, however, after 317 B.C.
crossing the Tigris and arriving in Susianê, divided his army into three parts because of the dearth of food. Marching through the country in separate columns, he was completely without grain, but he distributed to his soldiers rice, sesame, and dates, since the land produced such fruits as these in plenty. He had already sent to the commanders of the upper satrapies the letter from the kings in which it was written that they should obey Eumenes in every way; and at this time he again sent couriers bidding the satraps all to assemble in Susianê each with his own army. But it happened that at this very time they had themselves mobilized their forces and had assembled for other reasons, with which it is necessary to deal first.

14. Pithon had been appointed satrap of Media, but when he became general of all the upper satrapies, he put to death Philotas, the former general of Parthia, and set up his own brother Eudamus in his place.[1] At this all the other satraps joined forces, fearing that they might suffer a similar fate since Pithon was seditious and had included great undertakings in his plans. But they got the better of him in a battle, killed many of his supporters, and drove him out of Parthia. At first he withdrew to Media, but after a little he went on to Babylon, where he invited

[1] Pithon received Media in the distribution at Triparadeisus, but the satrap of Parthia is there called Philip (Book 18. 39. 6). As Diodorus' words suggest, Pithon's "generalship" of the upper satrapies was by usurpation. For earlier projects of Pithon cp. Book 18. 7.

γενόμενος παρεκάλει τὸν Σέλευκον βοηθεῖν αὐτῷ
4 καὶ κοινωνεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδων. διὰ δὴ ταύτας τὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἄνω σατραπῶν συνηθροικότων εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ τὰ στρατόπεδα παρῆσαν οἱ παρ' Εὐμενοῦς βυβλιαφόροι πρὸς ἑτοίμας τὰς δυνάμεις. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐπιφανέστατος μὲν καὶ κοινῷ δόγματι πάντων τὴν στρατηγίαν παραλαβὼν Πευκέστης, γεγενημένος Ἀλεξάνδρου σωματοφύλαξ καὶ προηγ-
5 μένος ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δι' ἀνδρείαν. σατραπείαν δ' εἶχεν ἔτη πλείονα τῆς Περσίδος καὶ μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. δι' ἃς αἰτίας φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτῷ μόνῳ Μακεδόνων συγχωρῆσαι Περσικὴν φορεῖν στολήν, χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενον τοῖς Πέρσαις καὶ διὰ τούτου νομίζοντα κατὰ πάνθ' ἕξειν τὸ ἔθνος ὑπήκοον. εἶχε δὲ τότε Πέρσας τοξότας μὲν καὶ σφενδονήτας μυρίους, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν Μακεδονικὴν τάξιν καθοπλισμένους παντοδαποὺς τρισχιλίους, ἱππεῖς δ' Ἕλληνας μὲν καὶ Θρᾷκας ἑξακοσίους, Πέρσας
6 δὲ πλείους τῶν τετρακοσίων. Τληπόλεμος[1] δ' ὁ Μακεδών, Καρμανίας σατράπης ἀποδεδειγμένος, εἶχε πεζοὺς μὲν χιλίους πεντακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δ' ἑπτακοσίους. καὶ Σιβύρτιος μὲν τῆς Ἀραχωσίας ἡγούμενος παρείχετο πεζοὺς μὲν χιλίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις,[2] Ἀνδρόβαζος δ' ἐκ Παροπανισαδῶν, τοῦ Ὀξυάρτου κυριεύοντος τῆς σατραπείας, ἀπέσταλτο μετὰ πεζῶν μὲν χιλίων καὶ

[1] Τληπόλεμος Wesseling, cp. Books 18. 39. 6; 19. 28. 3: Πολέμων.
[2] ἑξακοσίοις Reuss: ἑκατὸν ἕξ.

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[1] He was originally appointed to this satrapy by Alexander (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 30. 2-3) and was continued in office by Perdiccas and by Antipater (Book 18. 3. 3, 39. 6).

Seleucus to aid him and to share in his expectations. 317 B.C. So, since the upper satraps had for this reason concentrated their armies in a single place, the couriers from Eumenes found the forces ready. The most eminent of the commanders and the one who by common consent had assumed command of all the forces was Peucestes, who had been a Bodyguard of Alexander and had been promoted by the king because of his courage. He had held the satrapy of Persia for many years and had gained great favour with the inhabitants.[1] They say that for this reason Alexander permitted him alone of the Macedonians to wear the Persian raiment, wishing to please the Persians and believing that through Peucestes he could keep the nation in all respects obedient. At this time Peucestes had ten thousand Persian archers and slingers,[2] three thousand men of every origin equipped for service in the Macedonian array, six hundred Greek and Thracian cavalry, and more than four hundred Persian horsemen. Tlepolemus[3] the Macedonian, who had been appointed satrap of Carmania, had one thousand five hundred foot soldiers and seven hundred mounted men. Sibyrtius, the commander of Arachosia,[4] brought a thousand foot and six hundred and ten horse. Androbazus had been dispatched from Paropanisadae, of which satrapy Oxyartes was governor, with twelve hundred infantry and four hundred

[2] Cp. Book 17. 110. 2.
[3] Cp. the critical note.
[4] He had originally been appointed by Alexander (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 27. 1) and confirmed by Perdiccas (Book 18. 3. 3) and by Antipater (Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 9. 36; but his name is omitted in Book 18. 39. 6).

7 διακοσίων, ἱππέων δὲ τετρακοσίων. Στάσανδρος δ' ὁ τῆς Ἀρίας καὶ Δραγγινῆς σατράπης, προσειληφὼς καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Βακτριανῆς, εἶχε πεζοὺς
8 μὲν χιλίους πεντακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ χιλίους. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς Εὔδαμος παρεγένετο μεθ' ἱππέων μὲν πεντακοσίων, πεζῶν δὲ τριακοσίων, ἐλεφάντων δὲ ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι· τὰ δὲ θηρία ταῦτα παρέλαβε μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν δολοφονήσας Πῶρον τὸν βασιλέα. οἱ δὲ πάντες μετὰ τῶν σατραπῶν ἠθροίσθησαν πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν μυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων ἑπτακοσίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακισχίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι.

15. Ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγενήθησαν εἰς τὴν Σουσιανὴν πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ, συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν κοινήν, ἐν ᾗ πολλὴν συνέβη γενέσθαι φιλοτιμίαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας. Πευκέστης μὲν γὰρ διά τε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν συναγωνιζομένων καὶ τὴν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου προαγωγὴν ἑαυτὸν ᾤετο δεῖν ἔχειν τὴν τῶν
2 πάντων ἡγεμονίαν, Ἀντιγένης δὲ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων Μακεδόνων στρατηγῶν ἔφη δεῖν δοθῆναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν τῆς αἱρέσεως τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ Μακεδόσιν, συγκαταπεπολεμηκόσιν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τὴν Ἀσίαν
3 καὶ γεγονόσι διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀνικήτοις. Εὐμενὴς δὲ φοβούμενος μὴ διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους στάσιν εὐχείρωτοι κατασταθῶσιν Ἀντιγόνῳ, συνεβούλευεν ἕνα μὲν μὴ καθιστᾶν ἡγεμόνα, πάντας δὲ τοὺς προκεκριμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους σατράπας καὶ στρατηγοὺς εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν αὐλὴν συνιόντας

[1] Eudamus had been left by Alexander as a Macedonian "resident" with Taxiles (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 27. 2). We know nothing further of the attack on Porus. This Eudamus is not the brother of Pithon mentioned at the beginning of this chapter.

cavalry. Stasander, the satrap of Aria and Dranginȇ, who brought also the troops from Bactrianê, had fifteen hundred infantry and a thousand horse. From India came Eudamus with five hundred horsemen, three hundred footmen, and one hundred and twenty elephants. These beasts he had secured after the death of Alexander by treacherously slaying King Porus.[1] In all there were assembled with the satraps more than eighteen thousand seven hundred infantry and four thousand six hundred cavalry.[2] 317 B.C.

15. When the satraps had come into Susianê and had joined Eumenes, they called together a general assembly in which there was found to be a good deal of rivalry for the chief command.[3] Peucestes thought that because of the number of soldiers who followed him on the campaign and because of his high rank under Alexander he ought to have the supreme command; but Antigenes, who was general of the Silver Shields, said that the right to make the selection ought to be granted to his Macedonians, since they had conquered Asia with Alexander and had been unconquered because of their valour. Eumenes, however, fearing that through their rivalry with each other they would become an easy prey for Antigonus, advised that they should not set up a single commander, but that all the satraps and generals who had been selected by the mass of the army should gather in the royal tent each day and take counsel

[2] The sums of the figures given are 18,500 foot and 4210 horse, but we must add also the forces brought by Amphimachus of Mesopotamia (600 horse and probably some infantry although none is mentioned) who is present at the battle of Gabienê (chap. 27. 4).

[3] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 13. 4.

καθ' ἡμέραν βουλεύεσθαι κοινῇ περὶ τῶν συμφερόν-
4 των· ἔστατο[1] γὰρ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τετελευτηκότι σκηνὴ καὶ κατὰ ταύτην θρόνος, πρὸς ᾧ θύοντες εἰώθεισαν συνεδρεύειν περὶ τῶν κατεπειγόντων. πάντων δὲ διασημαινομένων τὸ ῥηθὲν ὡς συμφερόντως[2] εἰρημένον συνῆγε καθ' ἡμέραν συνέδριον οἷόν τινος
5 δημοκρατουμένης πόλεως. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρελθόντων αὐτῶν εἰς Σοῦσα παρὰ τῶν θησαυροφυλακούντων Εὐμενὴς ἔλαβε χρημάτων πλῆθος ὅσον ἦν ἱκανὸν εἰς τὰς χρείας· μόνῳ γὰρ τούτῳ διὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς συνετετάχεισαν διδόναι καθ' ὅ τι ἂν αὐτὸς προαιρῆται. μισθοδοτήσας δὲ τοὺς Μακεδόνας εἰς ἓξ μῆνας Εὐδάμῳ τῷ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καταγαγόντι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔδωκε διακόσια τάλαντα, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰς τῶν θηρίων δαπάνας, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ διὰ τῆς δωρεᾶς ταύτης θεραπεύων τὸν ἄνδρα· ᾧ γὰρ ἂν τῶν στασιαζόντων οὗτος προσθοῖτο, μεγίστην ἐποιεῖτο ῥοπήν, καταπληκτικῆς οὔσης τῆς τῶν θηρίων χρείας. τῶν δ' ἄλλων σατραπῶν ἕκαστος ἔτρεφε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν χώρας συνηκολουθηκότας.

6 Εὐμενὴς μὲν οὖν ἐν τῇ Σουσιανῇ διατρίβων ἀνελάμβανε τὴν δύναμιν, Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραχειμάσας ἐν τῇ Μεσοποταμίᾳ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον διενοήθη τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ διώκειν ἐκ ποδὸς πρὶν αὐξηθῆναι, ὡς δ' ἤκουσε τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τὰς μετ' αὐτῶν δυνάμεις συνεληλυθυίας τοῖς Μακεδόσιν, ἐπέσχε τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τήν τε δύναμιν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ προσκατέγραφε στρατιώτας· ἑώρα γὰρ τὸν

[1] ἔστατο Dindorf: ἵστατο MSS., Fischer.
[2] συμφερόντως Fischer, cp. Book 11. 71. 1: συμφέρον.

together about what was to the common advantage. For a tent had been set up for Alexander although he was dead, and in the tent a throne, before which they were accustomed to make offerings and then to sit as a council in regard to matters that demanded attention.[1] Since all approved his proposal as made in the general interest, he called a council each day like that of some city ruling itself on democratic principles. Later, when they arrived at Susa, Eumenes received from those in charge of the treasury a sum of money sufficient for his needs; for it was to him alone that the kings in their letter had ordered the treasurers to give whatever sum he should ask.[2] After paying the Macedonians for six months, he gave two hundred talents to Eudamus, who had brought down the elephants from India, saying that this was for the cost of maintaining the animals, but really trying to win the favour of the man by this gift; for he would tip the scales decisively in favour of any one of the rivals to whom he might attach himself, since the employment of the beasts strikes terror. Each of the other satraps provided for the support of the troops who had followed him from the territory under his command. 317 B.C.

While Eumenes remained in Susianê refreshing his forces, Antigonus, who had wintered in Mesopotamia,[3] at first had planned to follow Eumenes close on his heels before his strength should be increased; but on hearing that the satraps and their armies had joined the Macedonians, he checked his speed and began to refresh his forces and to enrol additional soldiers,

[1] Cp. Book 18. 60. 5-61. 3.
[2] Cp. Book 18. 57. 3, 58. 1.
[3] This is the winter of 318/17, *i.e.* the same as that mentioned in chap. 12. 1.

πόλεμον μεγάλων στρατοπέδων καὶ παρασκευῆς οὐ τῆς τυχούσης προσδεόμενον.

16. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἄτταλος καὶ Πολέμων καὶ Δόκιμος, ἔτι δὲ Ἀντίπατρος καὶ Φιλώτας, οἱ μετὰ τῆς Ἀλκέτου δυνάμεως ἁλόντες ἡγεμόνες, ἐφυλάττοντο μὲν ἔν τινι φρουρίῳ καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ὀχυρῷ, ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πορείαν, νομίζοντες εὔθετον ἔχειν καιρόν, ἔπεισάν τινας τῶν τηρούντων αὐτοὺς λῦσαι, κυριεύσαντες δὲ ὅπλων ἐπέθεντο τῇ φυλακῇ περὶ μέσας νύκτας. αὐτοὶ μὲν οὖν ὀκτὼ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες, τηρούμενοι δὲ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν τετρακοσίων, διαφέροντες δὲ ταῖς τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐχειρίαις διὰ τὴν μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατείαν, Ξενοπείθη μὲν τὸν φρούραρχον συναρπάσαντες ὑπὲρ τὸ τεῖχος ἔρριψαν, σταδιαῖον ἐχούσης τῆς πέτρας ὕψος, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν κατασφάξαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἐκβαλόντες ἐν-
2 επύρισαν τὰς οἰκίας. τῶν δ' ἔξωθεν καραδοκούντων προσελάβοντο τὸν ἀριθμὸν εἰς πεντήκοντα. τοῦ δὲ φρουρίου σίτου τε πλῆθος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδείων ἔχοντος ἐβουλεύοντο πότερον χρὴ μένειν καὶ χρῆσθαι τῇ τῶν τόπων ὀχυρότητι καραδοκοῦντας τὴν παρ' Εὐμενοῦς βοήθειαν ἢ φυγόντας τὴν ταχίστην ἀλᾶσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν καιροτηροῦντας τὰς
3 μεταβολάς. γιγνομένης δὲ πλείονος ἀντιλογίας Δόκιμος μὲν ἐκχωρεῖν συνεβούλευεν, οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον οὐκ ἔφασαν δυνήσεσθαι κακοπαθεῖν διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς δεσμοῖς γενομένην κακουχίαν. τούτων δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους διισταμένων ἔφθασαν ἐκ τῶν

[1] Cp. Book 18. 45. 3-4.

for he perceived that the war called for large armies and for no ordinary preparation. 317 B.C.

16. While these things were happening, Attalus, Polemon, and Docimus, together with Antipater and Philotas, the commanders who had been captured along with the army of Alcetas, were being kept under guard in a certain exceedingly strong fortress[1]; but when they heard that Antigonus was leading his expedition into the upper satrapies, believing that they had a favourable opportunity, they persuaded certain of their custodians to release them, and then, gaining possession of arms, they set upon the guard at about midnight. They themselves numbered only eight and were guarded by four hundred soldiers, but they excelled in daring and dexterity, thanks to their service with Alexander. They laid violent hands upon Xenopeithes, the captain of the garrison, and threw him from the wall at a point where the cliff was six hundred feet high; and then, after slaughtering some of the remaining guards and casting the others down, they set fire to the buildings. From those who had been standing aside to observe the outcome they increased their number to fifty. Since the stronghold held a large amount of grain and other provisions, they took counsel together whether they ought to remain and take advantage of the strength of the position, awaiting the aid to be expected from Eumenes, or should flee as quickly as possible and move about the country while waiting for a change in the situation. There was a considerable argument, for Docimus advised flight while Attalus declared that he would not be able to endure hardship because of the bad physical condition that had been caused by his imprisonment. But while they were disputing

σύνεγγυς φρουρίων συνδραμόντες στρατιῶται πεζοὶ μὲν πλείους τῶν πεντακοσίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακόσιοι, χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἐκ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἄλλοι παντοδαποὶ πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων, οἳ στρατηγὸν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν καταστήσαντες περιεστρατοπέδευσαν τὸ
4 χωρίον. παραδόξως δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν κατακλεισθέντων Δόκιμος μὲν κατάβασίν τινα κατανοήσας ἀφύλακτον διεπρεσβεύσατο πρὸς τὴν Ἀντιγόνου γυναῖκα Στρατονίκην, οὖσαν πλησίον τῶν τόπων, καὶ δεύτερος διὰ ταύτης ἐκπηδήσας αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔτυχε πίστεως, ἀλλ' εἰς φυλακὴν παρεδόθη, ὁ δὲ συγκαταβὰς αὐτῷ καθηγησάμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀνήγαγεν εἰς τὸ χωρίον οὐκ ὀλίγους καὶ κατελάβετο
5 μίαν τῶν ὀρθίων πετρῶν. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄτταλον πολὺ λειπόμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσι διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἀντείχοντο καὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀγωνιζόμενοι διεκαρτέρουν· πολιορκηθέντες δὲ ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας τέσσαρας ἥλωσαν κατὰ κράτος.

17. Ἐπ' ἄρχοντος δ' Ἀθήνησι Δημοκλείδου Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ὑπάτους κατέστησαν Γάιον Ἰούνιον καὶ Κόιντον Αἰμίλιον, Ὀλυμπιὰς δ' ὑπῆρχεν ἕκτη πρὸς ταῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ δέκα, καθ' ἣν ἐνίκα στάδιον
2 Δεινομένης Λάκων. περὶ δὲ τούτους τοὺς καιροὺς Ἀντίγονος μὲν ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀναζεύξας ἧκεν εἰς τὴν Βαβυλωνίαν κἀκεῖ συνέθετο κοινοπραγίαν Σελεύκῳ καὶ Πίθωνι· προσλαβόμενος δὲ καὶ παρὰ τούτων στρατιώτας ἔζευξε πλοίοις τὸν Τίγριν ποταμὸν καὶ περαιώσας τὰς δυνάμεις ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ

[1] Democleides was archon in 316/15. According to the traditional chronology, C. Junius Bubulcus and Q. Aemilius Barbula were consuls in 317 (Livy, 9. 20. 7; *Fasti Capitolini* for 317). Chapters 17-38 continue to relate events of 317 B.C.

with each other, troops had already assembled from 317 B.C.
the adjacent fortresses, more than five hundred foot soldiers and four hundred horsemen; and in addition, others had come from the native peoples, men of every kind to a number exceeding three thousand, who had selected a commander from their own ranks and encamped about the stronghold. When they had unexpectedly been shut in again, Docimus, who had learned that a certain way of descent was unguarded, sent an ambassador to Antigonus' wife Stratonicê, who was in the neighbourhood. When he and one companion escaped by arrangement with her, he was accorded no confidence but was handed over to a guard; and the man who had gone out with him became a guide for the enemy, conducted a considerable number of them into the stronghold, and occupied one of the peaks. Although the followers of Attalus were far outnumbered, their courage enabled them to hold their ground, and keeping up the fight day after day they resisted stubbornly; only after they had been besieged for a year and four months were they taken by assault.

17. When Democleides was archon at Athens, the Romans elected Gaius Junius and Quintus Aemilius consuls.[1] This was the one hundred and sixteenth celebration of the Olympic Games, at which Deinomenes the Laconian won the footrace. At this time Antigonus set out from Mesopotamia and came into Babylonia, where he made an agreement for common action with Seleucus and Pithon.[2] He received soldiers from them also, made a pontoon bridge over the Tigris River, took his army across, and set out

[2] Cp. chaps. 12. 5, 13. 3.

3 τοὺς πολεμίους. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ πυθόμενοι τὰ πεπραγμένα Ξενοφίλῳ μὲν τῷ τὴν ἐν Σούσοις ἄκραν φυλάττοντι ἐκέλευσαν μήτε τῶν χρημάτων Ἀντιγόνῳ δοῦναί τι μήτ᾽ εἰς λόγους ἔρχεσθαι, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναλαβόντες ὥρμησαν ἐπὶ τὸν Τίγριν ποταμόν, ἀπέχοντα Σούσων ὁδὸν ἡμέρας, ᾗ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐκχεῖται[1] τῆς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτονόμων κατεχομένης, οὓς Οὐξίους προσαγορεύουσι, πλάτος μὲν κατὰ πολλοὺς[2] τόπους τριῶν σταδίων, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ τεσσάρων, βάθος δὲ κατὰ μέσον τὸ ῥεῦμα πρὸς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἐλεφάντων, καὶ φερόμενος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἐπὶ σταδίους ἑπτακοσίους εἰς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἐξερεύγεται θάλασσαν, ἔχει δὲ καὶ θαλάσσιον ἰχθὺν πολὺν καὶ θηρία τῶν πελαγίων, ἃ φαίνεται μάλιστα περὶ κυνὸς ἀνατολάς.

4 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν προβαλόμενοι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν παραποταμίαν ἀπὸ τῶν πηγῶν ἕως τῆς θαλάσσης φυλακαῖς διαλαβόντες ἀνέμενον τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἔφοδον. προσδεομένης δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς διὰ τὸ μῆκος στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀλίγων οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ Ἀντιγένη ἠξίωσαν τὸν Πευκέστην ἐκ τῆς
5 Περσίδος μεταπέμψασθαι τοξότας μυρίους. ὁ δὲ
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐ προσεῖχεν αὐτοῖς, μεμψιμοιρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ τετευχέναι τῆς στρατηγίας, ὕστερον δὲ δοὺς αὑτῷ λόγον συνεχώρησεν ὅτι κρατήσαντος Ἀντιγόνου συμβήσεται καὶ τὴν σατραπείαν αὑτὸν ἀποβαλεῖν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδυνεῦσαι.

[1] ἐκχεῖται Post, ἐκρεῖ Fischer, ἐξέρχεται Hertlein: ἔχει RX, ἔχεται F.
[2] μὲν after πολλοὺς deleted by editors.

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[1] Apparently an error for the Pasitigris (cp. chap. 21. 2

against the enemy. When Eumenes learned what had taken place, he ordered Xenophilus, who was guarding the citadel of Susa, not to give any of the money to Antigonus nor to have any conference with him. Eumenes himself with his forces set out for the Tigris River,[1] which is a day's march from Susa at the place where it flows out of the mountainous country that is occupied by the unconquered tribesmen called the Uxii. Its width in many places is three stades, and in some places even four[2]; and in the middle of the stream the depth is about the height of an elephant. After flowing along for some seven hundred stades[3] from the mountains, it empties into the Red Sea,[4] and it contains abundant salt-water fishes as well as sharks, which appear just about the time of the rising of the Dog Star.[5] Keeping this river in front of them as a protection and holding the bank from its source to the sea with pickets, they awaited the onset of the enemy. Since this guard because of its length required no small number of soldiers, Eumenes and Antigenes requested Peucestes to summon ten thousand bowmen from Persia. At first he paid no heed to them, since he still bore a grudge for not having received the generalship; but later, reasoning with himself, he admitted that should Antigonus be victorious the result would be that he himself would lose his satrapy and also be in danger 317 B.C.

Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 14. 2; Strabo, 15. 3. 6) as also in chap. 18. 4, and in Book 17. 67. 1-2, where, however, the distance to Susa is correctly given as four days' march (Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*, 2. 1. 266, note 1).

[2] About 1800 and 2400 feet respectively.

[3] About eighty miles.

[4] *i.e.* the Persian Gulf. The river now empties into the Shatt-al-Arab.

[5] In the latter part of June.

6 ἀγωνιῶν οὖν ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας μᾶλλον τεύξεσθαι νομίζων ὡς πλείστους ἔχων στρατιώτας προσήγαγεν, καθάπερ ἠξίουν, τοξότας μυρίους. ἀπέχοντες δ' ἔνιοι τῶν Περσῶν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν τριάκοντα τὸ παραγγελθὲν αὐθημερὸν ἤκουον διὰ τὸ φιλοτεχνηθὲν περὶ τὰς φυλακάς· ὅπερ οὐ καλῶς
7 ἔχει παραδραμεῖν. τῆς γὰρ Περσίδος οὔσης αὐλωνοειδοῦς καὶ σκοπὰς ἐχούσης ὑψηλὰς καὶ πυκνὰς ἐπὶ τούτων ἐφειστήκεισαν οἱ μέγιστον φθεγγόμενοι τῶν ἐγχωρίων· διῃρημένων γὰρ τῶν τόπων εἰς φωνῆς ἀκοὴν[1] οἱ παραλαμβάνοντες τὸ παραγγελθὲν ὁμοίως ἑτέροις παρεδίδοσαν, εἶτ' ἐκεῖνοι πάλιν ἄλλοις, ἕως εἰς τὸ τέρμα τῆς σατραπείας τὸ δοθὲν παραδοθῇ.

18. Τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ καὶ Πευκέστην ταῦτα διοικούντων Ἀντίγονος, ἐπειδὴ προάγων μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἧκεν εἰς Σοῦσα τὸ βασίλειον, Σέλευκον μὲν ἀπέδειξε τῆς χώρας σατράπην καὶ δοὺς αὐτῷ στρατιώτας προσέταξε πολιορκεῖν τὴν ἄκραν ἀπειθοῦντος[2] Ξενοφίλου τοῦ θησαυροφύλακος, αὐτὸς δὲ[3] μετὰ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ καυματώδους καὶ παντελῶς ἐπικινδύνου ξενικαῖς δυνάμεσι διελθεῖν. διὸ καὶ τὰς πορείας ἠναγκάζοντο νυκτὸς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ στρατοπεδεύεσθαι περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν πρὶν ἥλιον
2 ἀνατέλλειν. οὐ μὴν ἠδυνήθη γε κατὰ πάντα ἄθικτος γενέσθαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν χώραν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ ἐνδεχομένως ἅπαντα πράξας συχνοὺς ἀπ-

[1] εἰς φωνῆς ἀκοὴν Reiske : εἰς ἀκοῆς φωνήν.
[2] δὲ after ἀπειθοῦντος deleted by Reiske.
[3] δὲ added by Reiske.

[1] Wesseling cites from Cleomedes (2, p. 169) the use by

of his life. In his anxiety, therefore, about himself, 317 B.C.
and thinking also that he would be more likely to gain the command if he had as many soldiers as possible, he brought up ten thousand bowmen as they requested. Although some of the Persians were distant a thirty days' journey, they all received the order on that very day, thanks to the skilful arrangement of the posts of the guard, a matter that it is not well to pass over in silence. Persia is cut by many narrow valleys and has many lookout posts that are high and close together, on which those of the inhabitants who had the loudest voices had been stationed. Since these posts were separated from each other by the distance at which a man's voice can be heard, those who received the order passed it on in the same way to the next, and then these in turn to others until the message had been delivered at the border of the satrapy.[1]

18. While Eumenes and Peucestes were engaged in these matters, Antigonus advanced with his army and came to Susa, the capital. He appointed Seleucus satrap of that country, gave him troops, and ordered him to lay siege to the citadel, since the treasurer, Xenophilus, refused to accept his orders.[2] He himself with his army broke camp and set out against the enemy although the road was very hot and very dangerous for a foreign army to traverse. For this reason they were forced to march at night and make camp near the river before sunrise. Nevertheless, he was not able to escape altogether untouched by the hardships characteristic of the country ; although he did everything in his power, he lost a large number

Xerxes of a similar means by which a message was sent from Athens to Susa in two days and nihgts. Another system is described in chap. 57. 5.

[2] Cp. chap. 17. 3.

ἔβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καύματος, ἅτε καὶ τῆς ὥρας οὔσης περὶ κυνὸς ἀνα-
3 τολάς. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρεγενήθη πρὸς τὸν Κοπράτην ποταμόν, τὰ πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν παρεσκευάζετο. οὗτος δὲ ἔκ τινος ὀρεινῆς ῥέων ἐξέπιπτεν εἰς τὸν Πασιτίγριν, ὃς ἀπεῖχε τῆς Εὐμενοῦς στρατοπεδείας σταδίους ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τὸ μὲν πλάτος εἶχεν ὡς ἂν τεσσάρων πλέθρων, ὀξὺς δὲ ὢν ἐν τῇ καταφορᾷ
4 προσεδεῖτο πλοίων ἢ ζεύγματος. καταλαβὼν δ' ὀλίγα πλοῖα κοντωτὰ διεβίβασεν ἐν τούτοις τινὰς τῶν πεζῶν, προστάξας τάφρον ὀρύττειν καὶ χάρακα βαλομένους ὑποδέχεσθαι τὴν λοιπὴν δύναμιν. Εὐμενὴς δὲ πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν κατασκόπων τὴν ἐπιβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων, διαβὰς τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ Τίγριδος μετὰ στρατιωτῶν μὲν πεζῶν τετρακισχιλίων ἱππέων δὲ χιλίων τριακοσίων, κατέλαβε διαβεβηκότας τῶν Ἀντιγόνου πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν τρισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δὲ τετρακοσίους καὶ τῶν εἰωθότων σποράδην διαβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὰς προνομὰς
5 οὐκ ἐλάττους ἑξακισχιλίων. ἄφνω δὲ προσπεσὼν τεθορυβημένοις τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὐθὺς ἐτρέψατο, τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων τοὺς ὑποστάντας τῇ βίᾳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει κατισχύσας φυγεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν πάντας
6 κατηνάγκασε. πάντων δὲ ὁρμησάντων ἐπὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐπιβάντων κατεποντίσθη, τῶν δὲ διανήχεσθαι τολμησάντων οἱ πλεῖστοι μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος παρενεχθέντες
7 διεφθάρησαν, ὀλίγοι δὲ διεσώθησαν. οἱ δὲ ἄπειροι τοῦ κολυμβᾶν ὄντες τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν τῆς ἐν τῷ

[1] In the latter part of June. The battle on the Coprates River, accordingly, is to be placed in July, 317.

of men because of the extreme heat, for it was in 317 B.C.
fact the season when the Dog Star rises.[1] When he reached the Coprates River, he began to make preparations for crossing. This river, running from a certain mountainous region, enters the Pasitigris, which was at a distance of about eighty stades[2] from Eumenes' camp. It is about four plethra in width,[3] but since it is swift in current, it required boats or a bridge. Seizing a few punts, he sent some of the infantry across in them, ordering them to dig a moat and build a palisade in front of it, and to receive the rest of the army. But as soon as Eumenes heard from scouts of the enemy's move, he crossed the pontoon bridge over the Tigris[4] with four thousand foot soldiers and thirteen hundred horsemen and surprised the soldiers of Antigonus who had crossed—more than three thousand foot soldiers, four hundred cavalry, and not less than six thousand of those soldiers who were in the habit of crossing in scattered groups in search of forage. Falling suddenly upon them while they were in disorder, Eumenes routed the rest of them at once, and those of the Macedonians who resisted he overcame by his onset and by weight of numbers and compelled them all to flee to the river. They all rushed to the boats, but these were submerged by the great number of the men who embarked, and most of those who ventured to swim were carried away by the current and drowned, only a few getting safely over. Those who did not know how to swim, preferring captivity to

[2] A little more than nine miles.

[3] About 400 feet.

[4] *i.e.* the Pasitigris. Plutarch (*Eumenes*, 14. 2) seems to place the following battle on the Pasitigris rather than on the Coprates.

ποταμῷ τελευτῆς προκρίναντες ἥλωσαν, εἰς τετρακισχιλίους ὄντες. Ἀντίγονος δὲ θεωρῶν τοσοῦτο πλῆθος ἀπολλύμενον βοηθῆσαι μὲν οὐκ ἴσχυσε διὰ τὴν τῶν πλοίων σπάνιν.

19. Ἀδύνατον δὲ εἶναι νομίζων τὴν διάβασιν ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ πόλεως Βαδάκης, ἣ κεῖται παρὰ τὸν Εὔλαιον ποταμόν. οὔσης δὲ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐμπύρου διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν καυμάτων διεφθάρη τε πολλὰ σώματα καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς ἀθυμίαν
2 ἐνέπεσεν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ πόλει μείνας ἡμέρας τινὰς καὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀναλαβὼν ἔκρινε συμφέρειν ἀναζευγνύειν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα τῆς Μηδικῆς κἀκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος κατακτᾶσθαι τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας. οὐσῶν δ' ὁδῶν δύο τῶν φερουσῶν εἰς Μηδίαν ἑκατέρᾳ προσῆν τι δυσχερές· ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ Κόλωνος ὑπῆρχε καλὴ καὶ βασιλική, καυματώδης δὲ καὶ μακρά, παρεκτείνουσα σχεδὸν ἐφ' ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα, ἡ δὲ διὰ τῶν Κοσσαίων ἐθνῶν χαλεπὴ μὲν καὶ στενὴ καὶ παράκρημνος καὶ διὰ πολεμίας, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ἀναγκαίων σπανίζουσα, σύντομος δὲ καὶ
3 κατεψυγμένη. οὐ ῥᾴδιον δ' ἐστὶ ταύτην παρελθεῖν στρατόπεδον ἄνευ τοῦ πεῖσαι τοὺς τὴν ὀρεινὴν οἰκοῦντας βαρβάρους· αὐτόνομαι γὰρ ὄντες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων κατοικοῦσιν ἐν σπηλαίοις, προσφέρονται δὲ βαλάνους καὶ μύκητας, ἔτι δὲ τεταριχευμένα

[1] The location of Badacê is not known. The Eulaeus River cannot be recognized to-day with certainty because of the great changes in the river system of lower Mesopotamia. It lay between the Tigris, with which it was connected by a

death in the river, were taken prisoners to the number of four thousand. Antigonus, although he saw that great number being destroyed, could not go to their aid on account of his lack of boats. 317 B.C.

19. Believing that the crossing was impossible, Antigonus set out toward the city of Badacê, which is situated on the bank of the Eulaeus River.[1] Since the march was scorching hot because of the intensity of the sun's rays, many soldiers perished, and the army became discouraged. Nevertheless, after staying in the above mentioned city for a few days and letting the army recover from its sufferings, he decided that the best course was to march to Ecbatana in Media and with that as a base to gain control of the upper satrapies. There were two roads leading into Media, each having a disadvantage: the road leading to Colon[2] was a good royal highway, but it was hot and long, extending for almost forty days' march; while the other, which passed through the Cossaean tribes, was difficult and narrow, skirting precipices and passing through enemy territory, and moreover lacking in supplies, but it was short and cool. It is not easy for an army to follow this route without having gained the consent of the tribesmen who inhabited the mountain ranges. These men, who have been independent from ancient times, live in caves, eating acorns and mushrooms, and also the smoked flesh of

canal, and the Pasitigris, ran near Susa, and emptied into the Persian Gulf (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7. 7. 1-2).

[2] Colon, probably identical with Celon (Book 17. 110. 4), must be the chief city of Callonitis (Polybius, 5. 54. 7) or Chalonitis (Strabo, 16. 1. 1), called Kallonê by Kiepert on his map of the Persian Empire. In taking this route from Badacê to Ecbatana the army would march up the Tigris valley for some 250 miles before reaching the road from Babylon to Media and entering the mountains.

4 κρέα τῶν ἀγρίων ζῴων. τούτους Ἀντίγονος πεῖσαι μὲν ἢ δωροδοκεῖν ἀγεννὲς ἡγεῖτο τηλικαύτης αὐτῷ δυνάμεως συνακολουθούσης, προχειρισάμενος δὲ τῶν πελταστῶν τοὺς ἐπισημοτάτους καὶ τοὺς τοξότας καὶ τοὺς σφενδονήτας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψιλοὺς εἰς δύο μέρη διελόμενος τοὺς μὲν Νεάρχῳ παρέδωκε, προστάξας προάγειν καὶ τὰ στενὰ καὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας προκαταλαμβάνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ' ὅλην τὴν ὁδὸν τάξας αὐτὸς μὲν μετὰ τῆς φάλαγγος προῆγεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς οὐρα-
5 γίας ἔταξε Πίθωνα. οἱ μὲν οὖν μετὰ Νεάρχου προαποσταλέντες ὀλίγας μὲν σκοπὰς προκατελάβοντο, τῶν δὲ πολλῶν καὶ μάλιστα ἀναγκαίων τόπων ὑστερήσαντες συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλον καὶ μόλις διεξ-
6 έπεσαν ἐπικειμένων τῶν βαρβάρων. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπειδή ποθ' ἧκον ἐπὶ τὰς δυσχωρίας, ἀβοηθήτοις κινδύνοις περιέπιπτον. οἱ γὰρ ἐγχώριοι τῶν τόπων ἔμπειροι καθεστῶτες καὶ τοὺς κρημνοὺς προκατειληφότες ἐπεκύλιον τοῖς ὁδοιποροῦσι πέτρας συνεχεῖς καὶ μεγάλας· ἅμα δὲ καὶ τοῖς τόξοις πυκνοῖς χρώμενοι κατετίτρωσκον τοὺς μήτε ἀμύνασθαι μήτ' ἐκκλῖναι τὰ βέλη δυναμένους
7 διὰ τὴν δυσχωρίαν τῶν τόπων. κρημνώδους δ' οὔσης καὶ δυσβάτου τῆς ὁδοῦ συνέβαινε τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καὶ τοὺς ἱππεῖς, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρέσιν ὅπλοις κινδυνεύειν ἅμα καὶ πονεῖν ἀδυνα-
8 τοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς βοηθῆσαι. εἰς τοιαύτην δ' ἀμηχανίαν συγκλεισθεὶς Ἀντίγονος μετεμέλετο μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ πεισθῆναι τοῖς περὶ Πίθωνα, συμβουλεύουσι χρημάτων πρίασθαι τὴν πάροδον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλὼν καὶ τοῖς ὅλοις κινδυνεύσας

wild beasts. Since Antigonus regarded it as beneath 317 B.C.
his dignity to use persuasion on these people or to make them presents when he had so great an army following him, he selected the finest of the peltasts and divided the bowmen, the slingers, and the other light-armed troops into two bodies, one of which he gave to Nearchus, ordering him to go on ahead and occupy in advance the places that were narrow and difficult. After arranging the other group along the entire line of march, he himself advanced with the phalanx, putting Pithon in command of the rear guard. Now Nearchus' detachment going on ahead occupied a few of the lookouts; but since they were too late in the case of most of them and those the most important, they lost many men and barely made their way through with the barbarians pressing hard upon them. As for the troops led by Antigonus, whenever they came to these difficult passes, they fell into dangers in which no aid could reach them. For the natives, who were familiar with the region and had occupied the heights in advance, kept rolling great rocks in quick succession upon the marching troops; and at the same time, sending arrows thick and fast, they wounded men who were able neither to turn aside the missiles nor to avoid them because of the difficulties of the terrain. Since the road was precipitous and nearly impassable, the elephants, the cavalry, and even the heavy armed soldiers found themselves forced at the same time to face death and to toil hard, without being able to help themselves. Caught in such toils, Antigonus regretted that he had not heeded Pithon when he advised him to purchase the right of passage with money; nevertheless, after losing many men and endangering the

διεσώθη μόγις ἐνναταῖος εἰς τὴν οἰκουμένην τῆς Μηδίας.

20. Τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κακῶν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς κακοπαθίας ἐν αἰτίαις εἶχε τὸν Ἀντίγονον, ὥστε φωνὰς προΐεσθαι δυσχερεῖς· ἐν ἡμέραις γὰρ τεσσαράκοντα τρισὶ μεγάλοις ἀτυχήμασι περιεπεπτώκεισαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ φιλανθρώπως ὁμιλήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις ὁ Ἀντίγονος καὶ[1] κατασκευασάμενος δαψιλῆ χορηγίαν πάντων τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἀνέλαβε τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ
2 τῆς κακοπαθίας. Πίθωνα δ' ἐξαπέστειλε κελεύσας περιελθεῖν πᾶσαν τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ συνάγειν ὡς πλείστους ἱππεῖς τε καὶ πολεμιστὰς ἵππους, ἔτι δὲ
3 ὑποζυγίων πλῆθος. τῆς δὲ χώρας ταύτης ἀεὶ τετραπόδων γεμούσης ῥᾳδίως τὸ παραγγελθὲν συντελέσας ὁ Πίθων ἧκεν ἄγων ἱππεῖς μὲν δισχιλίους, ἵππους δὲ σὺν ταῖς κατασκευαῖς πλείους χιλίων, τῶν δ' ὑποζυγίων τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν ὥστε δύνασθαι καθοπλίσαι[2] πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον, καὶ προσέτι τά-
4 λαντα πεντακόσια τῶν βασιλικῶν χρημάτων. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος τοὺς μὲν ἱππεῖς εἰς τάξεις κατέστησε, τοὺς δ' ἵππους τοῖς ἀπολωλεκόσι διαδοὺς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ὑποζυγίων διαχαρισάμενος ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν παρὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν εὔνοιαν.

21. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ σατράπαι καὶ στρατηγοὶ πυθόμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ στρατοπεδεύειν, διέστησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Εὐμενὴς μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ἀντιγένης ὁ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγούμενος καὶ πάντες οἱ τὴν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἀνάβασιν πεποιημένοι πάλιν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἐπὶ θάλατταν καταβαίνειν, οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν κατα-

[1] καὶ added by Dindorf.

entire undertaking, he came with difficulty on the 317 B.C.
ninth day safe into the settled part of Media.

20. The soldiers of Antigonus, however, because of the continuous misfortunes and their own extreme misery, became so critical of him that they let fall hostile remarks; for in forty days they had met with three great disasters. Nevertheless, by mingling with the soldiers on friendly terms and by making ready an abundant supply of all provisions, he restored the army from its miserable state. He sent Pithon out, ordering him to go through all Media and gather as many horsemen and war horses as he could, and also a quantity of baggage animals. As that land always abounds in four-footed beasts, Pithon readily accomplished his mission and returned bringing two thousand horsemen, more than a thousand horses with their trappings, a sufficient number of beasts of burden to equip the entire army, and in addition to this, five hundred talents of the royal treasure. Antigonus organized the horsemen in troops, and by giving horses to men who had lost their own and by distributing most of the pack animals as presents, he regained the goodwill of the soldiers.

21. When the satraps and generals with Eumenes learned that the enemy was encamped in Media, they disagreed among themselves; for Eumenes, Antigenes, who commanded the Silver Shields, and all those who had made the march up from the sea, believed that they should go back to the coast; but those who had come down from the satrapies, anxious

[2] καθοπλίσαι MSS., Fischer (doubtfully), καθιππίσαι Reiske, καταπλουτίσαι or καταπλουτῆσαι Madvig.

βεβηκότες ἀγωνιῶντες ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἔφασαν δεῖν
2 ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν ἄνω τόπων. αὐξομένης δὲ τῆς διαφορᾶς Εὐμενὴς ὁρῶν ὅτι διαιρεθέντος τοῦ στρατοπέδου κατ' ἰδίαν ἑκάτερον τῶν μερῶν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχόν ἐστι, συνεχώρησε τοῖς καταβεβηκόσι σατράπαις. ἀναζεύξαντες οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ Πασιτίγριος προῆγον τῆς Περσίδος εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασίλειον, οὔσης τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων, ἧς ἦν ἡ πρώτη μὲν ἕως τῆς καλουμένης Κλίμακος κοίλη, καυματώδης δὲ καὶ σπανίζουσα τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἡ λοιπὴ δὲ μετέωρος καὶ τὸν ἀέρα παντελῶς ὑγιεινὸν ἔχουσα καὶ πλήρης τῶν ἐπετείων
3 καρπῶν· αὐλῶνάς τε γὰρ εἶχε πυκνοὺς καὶ συσκίους καὶ παραδείσων φυτείας ποικίλας, ἔτι δὲ παντοδαπῶν δένδρων φυσικὰς συναγκίας καὶ ῥύσεις[1] ὑδάτων, ὥστε τοὺς ὁδοιποροῦντας μετὰ πολλῆς τέρψεως ἐνδιατρίβειν τόποις ἡδίστοις πρὸς ἀνάπαυσιν. ἦν δὲ καὶ λείας παντοδαπῆς πλῆθος, ἣν μεταπεμπόμενος Πευκέστης παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων διεδίδου δαψιλῆ τοῖς στρατιώταις, ἐκκαλούμενος αὐτῶν τὴν εὔνοιαν. κατοικοῦσι δὲ ταύτην τὴν χώραν τῶν Περσῶν οἱ μαχιμώτατοι, πάντες ὄντες τοξόται καὶ σφενδονῆται, πολυανθρωπίᾳ τε πολὺ διαφέρειν συμβαίνει τὴν χώραν ταύτην τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν.

22. Ὡς δέ ποθ' ἧκον εἰς Περσέπολιν τὸ βασίλειον, Πευκέστης μέν, ὢν ταύτης τῆς χώρας στρατηγός,[2] θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσε μεγαλοπρεπῆ τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Φιλίππῳ, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ ἐξ ὅλης σχεδὸν τῆς Περσίδος ἱερείων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν εἰς εὐωχίαν καὶ πανήγυριν χρη-

[1] ῥύσεις Rhodoman: φύσεις.

about their own private affairs, asserted that it was essential to maintain control of the upper country. 317 B.C.
As the disagreement became more violent, Eumenes, seeing that if the army should be divided neither part would be capable of fighting by itself, deferred to the wishes of the satraps who had come from the interior. Leaving the Pasitigris, accordingly, they proceeded to Persepolis, the capital of Persia, a march of twenty-four days. The first part of the road as far as the so-called Ladder was through an enclosed valley, torrid and lacking in provisions, but the rest was over high land, blessed with a very healthful climate and full of the fruits appropriate to the season. For there were glens heavily overgrown and shady, cultivated trees of various kinds in parks, also natural converging glades full of trees of every sort and streams of water, so that travellers lingered with delight in places pleasantly inviting repose. Also there was an abundance of cattle of every kind, which Peucestes gathered together from the inhabitants and distributed without stint to the soldiers, seeking their goodwill. But those who inhabited this country were the most warlike of the Persians, every man being a bowman and a slinger, and in density of population, too, this country far surpassed the other satrapies.

22. When they had arrived in Persepolis, the capital, Peucestes, who was general of this land, performed a magnificent sacrifice to the gods and to Alexander and Philip; and, after gathering from almost the whole of Persia a multitude of sacrificial animals and of whatever else was needed for festivities and religious gatherings, he gave a feast to the

[2] σατράπης καὶ added before στρατηγός by early editors, removed by Fischer.

2 σίμων πλῆθος εἱστίασε τὴν δύναμιν. ἐπλήρωσε δὲ τῆς τῶν πανηγυριζόντων παρουσίας[1] κύκλους τέσσαρας ἐντὸς ἀλλήλων ὄντας καὶ περιεχομένους ὑφ' ἑνὸς τοῦ μεγίστου· εἶναι δὲ συνέβαινε τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς τὴν περίμετρον δέκα σταδίων, ἣν ἀνεπλήρουν οἵ τε μισθοφόροι καὶ συμμάχων τὸ πλῆθος, τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου σταδίων ὀκτώ, καθ' ὃν ὑπῆρχον οἵ τε ἀργυράσπιδες Μακεδόνες καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων οἱ μετ' Ἀλεξάνδρου στρατεύσαντες, τοῦ δ' ἑξῆς τὴν μὲν περιφέρειαν σταδίων τεσσάρων, τὸν δὲ τόπον ἀναπληροῦσθαι κατακειμένων τῶν τε δευτέρων ἡγεμόνων καὶ τῶν ἔξω τάξεως[2] φίλων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἱππέων· τοῦ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὄντος δυεῖν σταδίων, διειλήφεισαν τὰς κλισίας οἵ τε στρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰς ἱππαρχίας ἔχοντες, ἔτι δὲ τῶν Περσῶν
3 οἱ μάλιστα τιμώμενοι. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τούτων ὑπῆρχον βωμοὶ θεῶν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ Φιλίππου. καὶ τὰς μὲν κλισίας συνέβαινεν ἐκ φυλλάδος κατεσκευάσθαι, κεκαλυμμένας αὐλαίαις καὶ παντοδαποῖς περιστρώμασι, χορηγούσης τῆς Περσίδος δαψιλῆ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τρυφὴν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν, διεστηκέναι δὲ τοὺς κύκλους ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὥστε μηδὲν μὲν παρενοχλεῖσθαι τοὺς ἑστιωμένους, πλησίον δ' εἶναι πάσας τὰς παρασκευάς.

23. Πάντων δὲ κατὰ τρόπον ὑπηρετουμένων ἐπεσημαίνετο τὸ πλῆθος τὴν τοῦ Πευκέστου προθυμίαν καὶ φανερὸς ἦν ἐπιδεδωκὼς πολὺ πρὸς εὔνοιαν. ἃ δὴ θεωρῶν Εὐμενὴς καὶ συλλογιζόμενος τὸν Πευκέστην πολιτεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς στρατηγίας ὀρεγόμενον, ἐπλάσατο ψευδεῖς ἐπιστολάς, διὰ δὲ τούτων τούς τε στρατιώτας εὐθαρ-

[1] *παρουσίας* Post: *θυσίας*.

[2] *καὶ* after *τάξεως* deleted by Madvig.

army.[1] With the company of those participating he filled four circles, one within the other, with the largest circle inclosing the others. The circuit of the outer ring was of ten stades and was filled with the mercenaries and the mass of the allies; the circuit of the second was of eight stades, and in it were the Macedonian Silver Shields and those of the Companions who had fought under Alexander; the circuit of the next was of four stades and its area was filled with reclining men—the commanders of lower rank, the friends and generals who were unassigned, and the cavalry; lastly in the inner circle with a perimeter of two stades[2] each of the generals and hipparchs and also each of the Persians who was most highly honoured occupied his own couch. In the middle of these there were altars for the gods and for Alexander and Philip. The couches were formed of heaps of leaves covered by hangings and rugs of every kind, since Persia furnished in plenty everything needed for luxury and enjoyment; and the circles were sufficiently separated from each other so that the banqueters should not be crowded and that all the provisions should be near at hand. 317 B.C.

23. While all were being duly served, the crowd applauded the generosity of Peucestes, and it was clear that he had made a great advance in popularity. But Eumenes, seeing this and reasoning that Peucestes was playing up to the crowd in furtherance of his desire for the chief command, had fabricated a false letter, through which he made the soldiers

[1] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 14. 3.

[2] The circles were about 6000, 4800, 2400, and 1200 feet in circumference respectively.

σεῖς πρὸς τὰς μάχας κατεσκεύασεν καὶ τοῦ Πευ-
κέστου τὸν ὄγκον καὶ τὸ πρόσχημα ταπεινώσας
ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὕψος ἤγαγε καὶ προσδοκίαν ἦρεν[1]
2 ἐλπίδων ἀγαθῶν παρὰ τοῖς πλήθεσιν. ἦν δ' ὁ
νοῦς τῶν γεγραμμένων ὅτι τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξάνδρου
παιδίον Ὀλυμπιὰς παραλαβοῦσα κεκόμισται καὶ
τὴν Μακεδονίας βασιλείαν κυρίως, ἀναιρεθέντος
Κασάνδρου, Πολυπέρχων δὲ διαβέβηκεν εἰς Ἀσίαν
πρὸς Ἀντίγονον ἔχων τῆς βασιλικῆς δυνάμεως τὴν
κρατίστην καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, ἔστι δὲ προσάγων
3 ἤδη περὶ Καππαδοκίαν. ἡ δ' ἐπιστολὴ Συρίοις
γεγραμμένη γράμμασιν ἀπέσταλτο παρὰ Ὀρόντου
τοῦ σατραπείαν μὲν ἔχοντος Ἀρμενίας, φίλου δὲ
ὄντος Πευκέστῃ. πιστευθείσης δὲ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
διὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν τοῖς σατρά-
παις ὁ μὲν Εὐμενὴς ἐκέλευσε περιενεγκεῖν καὶ
δεῖξαι τοῖς τε ἡγεμόσι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν
τοῖς πλείστοις, τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον ἅπαν μετετέθη
ταῖς διανοίαις καὶ πάντες ἀπέβλεπον πρὸς τὰς
Εὐμενοῦς ἐλπίδας, ὡς τούτου δυνησομένου καὶ
προάγειν διὰ τῶν βασιλέων οὓς ἂν βούληται καὶ
4 δίκας λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων. μετὰ δὲ τὴν
εὐωχίαν Εὐμενὴς βουλόμενος καταπλήξασθαι τοὺς
ἀπειθοῦντας ἢ στρατηγίας ὀρεγομένους παρήγαγεν
εἰς κρίσιν Σιβύρτιον, ὃς ἦν τῆς μὲν Ἀραχωσίας
σατράπης Πευκέστου δὲ μάλιστα φίλος, ἔλαθε δὲ
αὐτὸν τῶν ἱππέων τινὰς ἀποστείλας εἰς Ἀρα-
χώτας· καὶ τὰς ἀποσκευὰς κελεύσας παρελέ-
σθαι εἰς τηλικούτους περιέστησε κινδύνους ὥστε,
εἰ μὴ λαθὼν διέδρα, θανάτῳ περιέπεσεν ἂν ὑπὸ
τοῦ πλήθους.

[1] ἦρεν added by Capps.

confident of the outcome of the battles and, by lowering the pomp and circumstance of Peucestes, improved his own standing and increased his prospects of success in the eyes of the crowd. 317 B.C. The purport of what he had written was that Olympias, associating Alexander's son with herself, had recovered firm control of the kingdom of Macedonia after slaying Cassander, and that Polyperchon had crossed into Asia against Antigonus with the strongest part of the royal army and the elephants and was already advancing in the neighbourhood of Cappadocia. The letter, written in the Syrian writing, was sent from Orontes, who held the satrapy of Armenia and who was a friend of Peucestes. Since the letter was believed because of the previous friendship between the satraps, Eumenes ordered it to be carried around and shown to the commanders and also to most of the other soldiers. The sentiment of the entire encampment was changed and all began to turn their attention to Eumenes' prospects in the belief that he would be able by help of the kings both to promote whomever he wished and to exact punishment from those who wronged him. After the feast Eumenes, in his desire to overawe those who did not obey him or who craved a command, brought to trial Sibyrtius, who was satrap of Arachosia and a very close friend of Peucestes. Without Sibyrtius' knowledge, Eumenes sent some horsemen into Arachosia, and by ordering the seizure of his baggage, he brought him into such danger that, if he had not escaped secretly, he would have been condemned to death by the assembly.[1]

[1] Sibyrtius, however, continued as satrap of Arachosia (chap. 48. 3).

24. Τούτῳ δὲ τῷ τρόπῳ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους καταπληξάμενος, ἑαυτῷ δ' ὄγκον καὶ πρόσχημα μέγα περιποιήσας μετεβάλετο πάλιν καὶ τὸν Πευκέστην λόγοις φιλανθρώποις καὶ μεγάλαις ἐπαγγελίαις προσαγαγόμενος εὔνουν ἑαυτῷ καὶ πρόθυμον κατεσκεύασεν εἰς τὸ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι συναγωνίζεσθαι.
2 σπεύδων δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν ὥσπερ ὅμηρα λαβεῖν τοῦ μὴ καταλείψειν αὐτόν, προσεποιήθη χρημάτων σπανίζειν καὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἕκαστον κατὰ δύναμιν δανεῖσαι
3 τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. λαβὼν δὲ παρ' ὧν ἐδόκει συμφέρειν ἡγεμόνων τετρακόσια τάλαντα τοὺς πρότερον ὑπόπτους ὄντας ἐπιβουλεύειν ἢ καταλείψειν πιστοτάτους φύλακας ἔσχε τοῦ σώματος καὶ συναγωνιστάς.

4 Οὕτως δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ τούτων πρὸς τὸ μέλλον στρατηγοῦντος ἧκόν τινες ἐκ Μηδίας ἀπαγγέλλοντες ὅτι μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀντίγονος τὴν ἀνάζευξιν ἐπὶ τῆς Περσίδος εἴη πεποιημένος. ἃ δὴ πυθόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνέζευξε, διεγνωκὼς ἀπαντᾶν
5 τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ διακινδυνεύειν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν δευτεραῖος θυσίαν ἐπετέλεσε τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εὐωχήσας πολυτελῶς τὰ μὲν πλήθη πρὸς εὔνοιαν προεκαλέσατο, αὐτὸς δὲ κατὰ τὴν μέθην συμπεριενεχθεὶς τῶν παραληφθέντων τοῖς εἰς τὸ πίνειν ὁρμήσασιν ἐνέπεσεν εἰς ἀρρωστίαν. διόπερ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἐπέσχε τῆς πορείας, καταβαρούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους· ἡ δὲ δύναμις ἐν ἀθυμίᾳ καθειστήκει, τῶν μὲν πολεμίων προσδοκω-

24. After Eumenes had frightened the others in this manner and had surrounded himself with pomp and circumstance, he changed once more and, having won Peucestes over with kind words and great promises, rendered him loyal toward himself and eager to join in the struggle in behalf of the kings. Desiring to exact from the other satraps and generals hostages, as it were, to prevent their deserting him, he pretended to be in need of money and called on each of them to lend all the money he could to the kings. By taking four hundred talents from those leaders from whom he considered it expedient, he converted men whom he had formerly suspected of plotting against him or of intending to abandon him into most faithful guards of his person and partners in the contest.[1] 317 B.C.

While Eumenes was making these strategic moves with an eye to the future, there came men from Media with information that Antigonus and his army had broken camp and set out for Persia. When he heard this, he also set out, having made up his mind to meet the enemy and risk the issue. On the second day of the journey he performed a sacrifice to the gods and entertained the army sumptuously; the large majority he had indeed encouraged to loyalty, but he himself during the drinking bout was led on by those of the invited guests who were eagerly engaged in drinking, and he became ill.[2] For this reason he delayed the march for some days, since he was overcome by his ailment; and the army was disheartened, for the enemy were expected to

[1] Plutarch (*Eumenes*, 13. 6) puts this stratagem a little earlier. In general Plutarch's account of the last campaigns of Eumenes is of little value.

[2] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 14. 3-5.

μένων ταχέως συνάψειν, τοῦ δ' ἱκανωτάτου τῶν
6 στρατηγῶν ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου πιεζομένου. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦ πάθους κριθέντος ἐπειδὴ βραχέως αὑτὸν προσανέλαβε, προῆγε μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀφηγουμένου Πευκέστου καὶ Ἀντιγένους, αὐτὸς δὲ φορίῳ κομιζόμενος ἐπηκολούθει τοῖς οὐραγοῦσιν, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τὸν θόρυβον καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν παρενοχλοῖτο.

25. Ὡς δ' ἡμέρας ὁδὸν ἀπέσχον ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα, κατασκόπους ἔπεμψαν ἀμφότεροι καὶ μαθόντες τὰ πλήθη καὶ τὰς προαιρέσεις τῶν πολεμίων παρεσκευάσαντο μὲν πρὸς τὸν κίνδυνον,
2 διελύθησαν δὲ χωρὶς μάχης· προβεβλημένοι γὰρ ἀμφότεροι ποταμόν τινα καὶ χαράδραν ἐξέταξαν μὲν τὰς δυνάμεις, διὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν τόπων δυσχωρίας οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν διαγωνίσασθαι. καταστρατοπεδεύσαντες δ' ἀλλήλων ἀπὸ σταδίων τριῶν ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμέρας τέσσαρας ἀκροβολιζόμενοι καὶ προνομεύοντες τὴν χώραν διετέλεσαν, πάντων σπανίζοντες, τῇ πέμπτῃ δ' Ἀντίγονος πρεσβευτὰς ἐξαπέστειλε πρός τε τοὺς σατράπας καὶ τοὺς Μακεδόνας, ἀξιῶν Εὐμενεῖ μὲν μὴ προσέχειν ἑαυτῷ δὲ πι-
3 στεύειν· συγχωρήσειν γὰρ ἔφη τοῖς μὲν σατράπαις ἔχειν τὰς ἰδίας σατραπείας, τῶν δὲ ἄλλων τοῖς μὲν χώραν πολλὴν δώσειν, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὰς πατρίδας ἀποστελεῖν μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δωρεῶν, τοὺς δὲ στρατεύεσθαι βουλομένους διανεμεῖν[1] εἰς τὰς
4 ἑκάστῳ καθηκούσας τάξεις. τῶν δὲ Μακεδόνων οὐ προσεχόντων τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσαπειλούντων τοῖς πρεσβευταῖς Εὐμενὴς παρελθὼν ἐπῄνεσέν τε αὐτοὺς καὶ λόγον εἶπε τῶν παραδεδομένων μὲν καὶ παλαιῶν, οὐκ ἀνοίκειον δὲ τῆς περιστά-
5 σεως. ἔφη γὰρ ἐρασθέντα λέοντα παρθένου δια-

engage them shortly and the ablest of their generals 317 B.C.
was handicapped by his illness. Nevertheless, when the attack had passed its crisis and he had recovered a little, Eumenes advanced with the army, which Peucestes and Antigenes were leading, while he himself, carried in a litter, followed the rearguard so that he might not be disturbed by the confusion and the congestion of the road.

25. When the armies were a day's march from each other, they both sent scouts, and after learning the size and the intentions of the enemy, they both made ready for the fray; but they separated without a battle; for each had drawn up his army with a river and a ravine in front of him, and because of the difficulty of the terrain they were not able to come to blows. The armies, encamped at a distance of three stades[1] from each other for four days, continued to skirmish and to plunder the country, for they were entirely without supplies; but on the fifth day Antigonus sent envoys to the satraps and the Macedonians, urging them not to obey Eumenes but to put trust in himself. He said that he would allow the satraps to keep their own satrapies, that to some of the Macedonians he would give a large gift of land, would send back others to their homes with honours and gifts, and would assign to appropriate posts those who wished to serve in his army. When, however, the Macedonians paid no heed to these offers and even threatened the envoys, Eumenes came forward and praised them and told them a tale, one of the traditional time-worn stories, it is true, but one not unsuited to the situation. He said that a

[1] About 1800 feet.

[1] διανεμεῖν Wesseling : διανέμειν.

λεχθῆναι τῷ πατρὶ τῆς κόρης ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου, τὸν
δὲ πατέρα λέγειν ὡς ἕτοιμος μέν ἐστιν αὐτῷ
δοῦναι, δεδοικέναι δὲ τοὺς ὄνυχας καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας,
μήποτε γήμας καὶ παροξυνθεὶς διά τινα αἰτίαν
6 προσενέγκηται τῇ παρθένῳ θηριωδῶς. τοῦ δὲ
λέοντος ἐξελόντος τούς τε ὄνυχας καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας
τὸν πατέρα, θεωρήσαντα πάντα δι' ὧν ἦν φοβερὸς
ἀποβεβληκότα, τύπτοντα τῷ ξύλῳ ῥᾳδίως ἀπο-
κτεῖναι. τὸ παραπλήσιον οὖν ποιεῖν καὶ τὸν Ἀντί-
7 γονον· μέχρι τούτου γὰρ ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἐπαγγελίας
ἕως ἂν τῆς δυνάμεως κυριεύσῃ καὶ κολάσῃ τη-
νικαῦτα τοὺς ἀφηγουμένους. ἐπισημαινομένου δὲ
τοῦ πλήθους καὶ[1] ὀρθῶς λέγοντος, τότε μὲν ἔλυσε
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.

26. Νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης ἧκόν τινες ηὐτο-
μοληκότες μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιγόνου στρατοπεδείας,
λέγοντες δ' ὅτι παρήγγειλε τοῖς στρατιώταις Ἀντί-
γονος ἀναζευγνύειν περὶ δευτέραν φυλακήν. ὁ δ'
Εὐμενὴς συλλογιζόμενος ἀληθῶς ὑπέλαβε[2] τοὺς
2 πολεμίους ἀποχωρήσειν εἰς τὴν Γαβηνήν· αὕτη γὰρ
ἀπέχουσα τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἀκέραιος ἦν καὶ
πλήρης καρπῶν καὶ χορτασμάτων καὶ καθόλου τῶν
δυναμένων χορηγῆσαι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μεγάλαις δυνά-
3 μεσι δαψιλῶς. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὁ
τόπος αὐτὸς συνήργει, ποταμοὺς ἔχων καὶ χαράδρας
δυσεξόδους. σπεύδων οὖν φθάσαι τοὺς πολεμίους
τὸ ὅμοιον ἔπραξε. τῶν μὲν μισθοφόρων τινὰς
χρήμασι πείσας ἐξέπεμψεν ὡς αὐτομόλους, συν-
τάξας λέγειν ὅτι διέγνωκεν Εὐμενὴς νυκτὸς ἐπιτί-
θεσθαι τῷ χάρακι· αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀποσκευὴν
προαπέστειλε, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις παρήγγειλε τὴν

[1] καὶ Capps: ὡς. [2] ὑπέλαβε Rhodoman: ὑπέβαλε.

lion, having fallen in love with a maiden, spoke to the girl's father about marriage. The father said that he was ready to give her to him, but that he was afraid of the lion's claws and teeth, fearing that after he had married her he might lose his temper about something and turn on the maiden in the manner of a beast. When, however, the lion had pulled out his claws and his teeth, the father, perceiving that the lion had thrown away everything which had made him formidable, killed him easily by beating him with a club. "It is this same sort of thing," he added, "that Antigonus is doing now; he will only keep his promises until he becomes master of the army, and in that very moment will execute its leaders." While the crowd was shouting approval and saying "Right," he dismissed the assembly. 317 B.C.

26. That night, however, there appeared certain deserters from Antigonus' army with the report that Antigonus had given his soldiers orders to break camp at about the second watch. Eumenes, on considering the matter, concluded rightly that the enemy intended to withdraw into Gabenê, as this place, distant about three days' march, was unplundered and filled with grain, fodder, and in general with that which could amply supply the provisions for a great army. Furthermore, the terrain itself supplemented these advantages, since it had rivers and ravines that were hard to cross. Being anxious, therefore, to occupy this place before the enemy, he imitated him. He caused certain mercenaries, whose consent he had won by money, to go away as if they were deserting, ordering them to say that Eumenes had decided to attack the camp during that night. He himself, however, sent the baggage on ahead and ordered the

4 ταχίστην δειπνοποιησαμένοις ἀναζευγνύειν. ὧν
ἁπάντων ὀξέως συντελεσθέντων Ἀντίγονος ἀκού-
σας τῶν αὐτομόλων ὅτι μάχεσθαι νυκτὸς διεγνώ-
κασιν οἱ πολέμιοι, τῆς μὲν πορείας ἀπέσχετο,
5 διέτασσε δὲ τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὸν κίνδυνον. τοῦ δὲ
περὶ ταῦτα θορυβουμένου καὶ περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος
ἀγωνιῶντος ἔλαθον οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ προλαβόν-
τες καὶ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν ποιούμενοι κατὰ τάχος
εἰς τὴν Γαβηνήν. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος μέχρι μέν τινος
ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις συνεῖχε τὴν δύναμιν, ὡς δὲ παρὰ τῶν
κατασκόπων ἐπύθετο τὴν ἀποχώρησιν τῶν ἐναν-
τίων, γνοὺς αὐτὸν κατεστρατηγημένον οὐδὲν ἧττον
6 ἀντείχετο τῆς αὐτῆς προαιρέσεως. παραγγείλας
οὖν τοῖς στρατιώταις ἀναζευγνύειν, προῆγε σύν-
τονον τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος καὶ διωγμῷ παρα-
πλήσιον. προέχοντος δ' Εὐμενοῦς δύο φυλακὰς
ὁρῶν ὅτι καταλαβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιόν ἐστι τῇ δυνάμει
πάσῃ τοὺς τοσοῦτο προειληφότας, ἐπενόησέ τι
7 τοιοῦτο. τὴν μὲν ἄλλην δύναμιν παραδοὺς Πίθωνι
προσέταξε κατὰ σχολὴν ἀκολουθεῖν, αὐτὸς δὲ τοὺς
ἱππεῖς ἀναλαβὼν ἤλαυνεν ἀπὸ ῥυτῆρος καὶ περι-
λαβὼν ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὴν οὐραγίαν τῶν πολεμίων
καταβαίνουσαν ἀπό τινος ἀκρολοφίας ἐπέστη ταῖς
8 ἀκρωρείαις, φανερὸς ὢν τοῖς ἐναντίοις. οἱ δὲ περὶ
τὸν Εὐμενῆ θεωρήσαντες ἐξ ἱκανοῦ διαστήματος
τῶν πολεμίων ἱππεῖς καὶ δόξαντες εἶναι πλησίον
ἅπασαν τὴν δύναμιν, τῆς μὲν πορείας ἐπέσχον, τὴν
δὲ στρατιὰν διέτασσον, ὡς αὐτίκα τῆς παρατάξεως
9 γενησομένης. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἡγεμόνες ἀμφοτέρων τῶν
στρατοπέδων τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἀλλήλους
κατεστρατήγησαν, ὥσπερ προαγωνιζόμενοι περὶ
συνέσεως καὶ δεικνύοντες ὅτι τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐν αὐτοῖς

soldiers to break camp after having taken a very 317 B.C.
hasty meal. When all this had been swiftly accomplished, Antigonus, who had heard from the deserters that the enemy had decided to fight during the night, postponed his departure and drew up his forces for the battle. While he was distracted by these operations and concentrating on the coming battle, he failed to notice that Eumenes had got the start of him and was marching at top speed for Gabenê. For some time Antigonus kept his army under arms; but when he learned from his scouts that his opponent had departed, although he knew that he had been outgeneralled, none the less he held to his original purpose. So, ordering his soldiers to break camp, he led them on a forced march that resembled a pursuit. Eumenes, however, had a start of two watches; therefore Antigonus, knowing that it was not easy to overtake with his whole army a force that was so far ahead, devised a stratagem as follows. He gave the rest of the army to Pithon and ordered him to follow at leisure, but he himself with the cavalry pursued at top speed[1]; and overtaking the rearguard of the enemy at daybreak just as it was coming down from some hilly country, he took position on the ridges, where he was visible to the enemy. When Eumenes from a considerable distance beheld cavalry of the enemy and supposed that the entire army was near, he halted the march and drew up his army on the assumption there would be an engagement immediately. Thus in the manner described the generals of the two armies each outwitted the other as if they were taking part in a preliminary contest of skill and showing that

[1] Literally, "with loose rein."

10 ἔχουσι[1] τῆς νίκης. ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντίγονος διὰ ταύτης τῆς ἐπινοίας ἐκώλυσε μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους προάγειν εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν, αὑτῷ δὲ δοὺς ἄνεσιν εἰς τὸ προσδέξασθαι τὴν δύναμιν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἧκεν, ἅπαν ἐξέταξεν εἰς μάχην καὶ κατέβαινε συντεταγμένος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καταπληκτικῶς.

27. Εἶχε δὲ τοὺς σύμπαντας σὺν τοῖς διὰ Πίθωνος καὶ Σελεύκου προσγεγενημένοις πεζοὺς μὲν πλείους τῶν δισμυρίων ὀκτακισχιλίων, ἱππεῖς δ' ὀκτακισχιλίους πεντακοσίους, ἐλέφαντας δὲ ἑξήκοντα πέντε. διηλλαγμέναις δ' ἐχρήσαντο ταῖς τάξεσιν οἱ στρατηγοί, διαμιλλώμενοι καὶ περὶ τῆς
2 ἐν τούτοις ἐμπειρίας πρὸς ἀλλήλους. Εὐμενὴς μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος ἔταξεν Εὔδαμον[2] τὸν καταγαγόντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας ἐξ Ἰνδῶν, ἔχοντα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων, ὄντων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, πρόταγμα δὲ τούτων εἴλας δύο ξυστοφόρων ἐπιλέκτων, πλῆθος[3] ἐχούσας ἱππέων πεντή-
3 κοντα. καὶ συνῆψε μὲν τούτους τοῖς ὑπερδεξίοις τῆς ὑπωρίας, ἑξῆς δὲ τούτοις Στάσανδρον τὸν στρατηγὸν ἔταξεν ἔχοντα τοὺς ἰδίους ἱππεῖς ἐννα-
4 κοσίους πεντήκοντα. μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἔστησεν Ἀμφίμαχον τὸν Μεσοποταμίας σατράπην, ᾧ συνηκολούθουν ἱππεῖς ἑξακόσιοι, συνάπτοντας δὲ τούτοις τοὺς ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν ἱππεῖς ἑξακοσίους, ὧν ἡγεῖτο πρότερον μὲν Σιβύρτιος, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου
5 φυγὴν μετειλήφει τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Κεφάλων. ἑξῆς δ' ἦσαν πεντακόσιοι μὲν ἐκ Παροπανισαδῶν, οἱ

[1] ἔχουσι Wesseling: ἀντέχουσι.
[2] Εὔδαμον, cp. chap. 14. 1, etc.: Εὔδημον.
[3] πλῆθος Post, μῆκος Reiske: βάθος.

each placed his hope of victory in himself. In any 317 B.C.
case, Antigonus by this device prevented the enemy from going forward while securing for himself a respite in which to bring up his army, and then when the army arrived, he drew it all up for battle and marched down in awe-inspiring array against the enemy.

27. Including the reinforcements brought by Pithon and Seleucus, Antigonus had in all more than twenty-eight thousand foot soldiers, eight thousand five hundred horsemen,[1] and sixty-five elephants. The generals employed different formations in drawing up the armies, vying with each other in regard to their competence in tactical skill as well. On his left wing Eumenes stationed Eudamus, who had brought the elephants from India, with his squadron of one hundred and fifty horsemen, and as an advance guard for them two troops of selected mounted lancers with a strength of fifty horsemen.[2] He placed them in contact with the higher land of the base of the hill, and next to them he put Stasander, the general, who had his own cavalry to the number of nine hundred and fifty. After them he stationed Amphimachus, the satrap of Mesopotamia, whom six hundred horsemen followed, and in contact with these were the six hundred horsemen from Arachosia, whose leader formerly had been Sibyrtius, but, because of the latter's flight, Cephalon had assumed command of them. Next were five hundred from Paropanisadae

[1] This is some 2000 less than the total of the individual cavalry detachments listed in chap. 29.
[2] The text is uncertain, but βάθος, "with a depth of 50 men," seems impossible. In chap. 28. 3 we find six *eilae* of 50 each and one of 300, but the latter is regarded as unusual.

δὲ τούτοις ἴσοι Θρᾷκες ἐκ τῶν ἄνω κατοικιῶν. πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων ἔταξεν ἐλέφαντας μὲν ἐν ἐπικαμπίῳ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε, τοξότας δὲ καὶ σφενδονήτας ἐν τοῖς τῶν θηρίων διαστήμασι τοὺς
6 ἱκανούς. τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον ὀχυρωσάμενος τὸ λαιὸν κέρας συνῆψεν αὐτῷ τὴν φάλαγγα. ταύτης δὲ τὸ ἄκρον ἐπεῖχον οἱ ξένοι, πλείους ὄντες τῶν ἑξακισχιλίων, τὸ δ' ἑξῆς οἱ καθωπλισμένοι μὲν εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικά, παντοδαποὶ δ' ὄντες τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, εἰς πεντακισχιλίους.

28. Μετὰ δὲ τούτους ἐτάχθησαν οἱ Μακεδόνες ἀργυράσπιδες, ὄντες μὲν πλείους τρισχιλίων, ἀνίκητοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἀρετὰς πολὺν φόβον παρεχόμενοι τοῖς πολεμίοις· ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οἱ ἐκ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν, ὄντες[1] πλείους τρισχιλίων, ἀφηγουμένου τούτων τε ἅμα καὶ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων Ἀντιγέ-
2 νους καὶ Τευτάμου. πρὸ δὲ πάσης τῆς φάλαγγος ἔστησεν ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τὰ τούτων διαστήματα τοῖς ψιλικοῖς τάγμασιν[2] ἀνεπλήρωσεν.
3 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος ἐξέταξε τοὺς ἱππεῖς, ἐχομένους μὲν τῆς φάλαγγος τοὺς ἐκ Καρμανίας ὀκτακοσίους, ὧν Τληπόλεμος σατράπης ἡγεῖτο, ἑξῆς δὲ τοὺς καλουμένους ἑταίρους ἐννακοσίους καὶ τὸ Πευκέστου καὶ Ἀντιγένους ἄγημα, τριακοσίους ἔχον ἱππεῖς μιᾷ περιειλημμένους εἴλῃ, ἐπ' ἄκρου δὲ τοῦ κέρατος τὸ Εὐμενοῦς ἄγημα, τοὺς ἴσους ἔχον ἱππεῖς, καὶ τούτων πρόταγμα τῶν Εὐμενοῦς παίδων εἴλας δύο, συνεστηκυίας ἑκατέρας ἐξ ἱπ-

[1] ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ οἱ . . . ὄντες Geer: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοὺς . . . ὄντας.
[2] τάγμασιν Dindorf: τὴν τάξιν.

and an equal number of Thracians from the colonies of the upper country. In front of all these he drew up forty-five elephants in a curved line with a suitable number of bowmen and slingers in the spaces between the animals. When Eumenes had made the left wing strong in this way, he placed the phalanx beside it. The outer end of this consisted of the mercenaries, who numbered more than six thousand; next were about five thousand men who had been equipped in the Macedonian fashion although they were of all races. 317 B.C.

28. After them he drew up the Macedonian Silver Shields, more than three thousand in number, undefeated troops, the fame of whose exploits caused much fear among the enemy, and finally the men from the hypaspists,[1] more than three thousand, with Antigenes and Teutamus leading both them and the Silver Shields. In front of the whole phalanx he placed forty elephants, filling the spaces between them with light armed soldiers. On the right wing he stationed cavalry: next to the phalanx, eight hundred from Carmania led by the satrap Tlepolemus, then the nine hundred called the Companions and the squadron of Peucestes and Antigenes, which contained three hundred horsemen arranged in a single unit. At the outer end of the wing was Eumenes' squadron with the same number of horsemen, and as an advance-guard for them two troops of Eumenes' slaves, each composed of fifty mounted men, while at

[1] The difference, if any, between the hypaspists and the other heavy armed foot soldiers is not clear. Tarn (*Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 17) suggests that the "real distinction between the hypaspists and the phalanx was probably one of standing and recruitment; it was the difference between the Guards and the infantry of the line."

πεων πεντήκοντα, καὶ πλαγίας φυλαττούσας ἔξω τοῦ κέρατος εἴλας τέσσαρας, ἐν αἷς ἦσαν ἱππεῖς
4 ἐπίλεκτοι διακόσιοι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἀπὸ πασῶν τῶν ἱππαρχιῶν ἐπιλελεγμένους τοῖς τάχεσι καὶ ταῖς ῥώμαις ἱππεῖς τριακοσίους ἔστησε κατόπιν τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγήματος. παρὰ δὲ τὴν ὅλην τοῦ κέρατος τάξιν προέταξεν ἐλέφαντας τεσσαράκοντα. ἡ δὲ πᾶσα δύναμις ἦν τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι πεντακισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχίλιοι ἑκατόν, ἐλέφαντες δὲ ἑκατὸν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

29. Ἀντίγονος δ' ἐκ μετεώρων τόπων κατιδὼν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων τάξιν πρὸς ταύτην ἁρμοζόντως διεκόσμησε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων δεξιὸν κέρας ὠχυρωμένον τοῖς τε θηρίοις καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις τῶν ἱππέων ἀντέταξε τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ἱππέων, οἳ κατὰ στόμα μὲν ἤμελλον φυγομαχήσειν ἀραιοὶ διαστάντες, ἐκ μεταβολῆς δὲ διαγωνιεῖσθαι καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ποιήσειν ἄπρακτον τῶν ἐναντίων τοῦτο τὸ μέρος ᾧ μάλιστα
2 ἐπίστευον.[1] ἔστησε δ' ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ κέρατος[2] τούς τε ἐκ Μηδίας καὶ Παρθυαίας[3] ἀφιπποτοξότας καὶ λογχοφόρους, ὄντας μὲν χιλίους, πεφυκότας δ' εὖ πρὸς τὴν ἐκ μεταβολῆς κλίσιν,[4] ἑξῆς δὲ τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης συναναβεβηκότας Ταραντίνους δισχιλίους καὶ διακοσίους, ἐπιλέκτους ἐν ἐνέδραις καὶ καλῶς διακειμένους ταῖς εὐνοίαις πρὸς αὐτόν,

[1] ἐπίστευον Rhodoman: ἐπίστευεν.
[2] τούτου τοῦ κέρατος Capps, ταῦτα τῆς φάλαγγος Post: ταύτης τῆς φάλαγγος.
[3] Παρθυαίας Wesseling: Παρουλίας.
[4] κλίσιν Capps, cp. Polybius, 18. 30. 4 κλίσις, ἡ ἐς τοὔπισθε μεταβολή: κρίσιν.

an angle beyond the end of the wing and guarding it 317 B.C. were four troops, in which there were two hundred selected horsemen. In addition to these, three hundred men selected from all the cavalry commands for swiftness and strength were stationed by Eumenes behind his own squadron. Along the whole of the wing he drew up forty elephants. The entire army of Eumenes consisted of thirty-five thousand foot soldiers, sixty-one hundred horsemen, and one hundred and fourteen elephants.[1]

29. As Antigonus looked down from a high position, he saw the battle line of his enemy and disposed his own army accordingly. Seeing that the right wing of the enemy had been strengthened with the elephants and the strongest of the cavalry, he arrayed against it the lightest of his horsemen, who, drawn up in open order, were to avoid a frontal action but maintain a battle of wheeling tactics and in this way thwart that part of the enemies' forces in which they had the greatest confidence. On this wing he stationed the mounted archers and lancers from Media and Parthia, a thousand in number, men well trained in the execution of the wheeling movement; and next he placed the twenty-two hundred Tarentines [2] who had come up with him from the sea, men selected for their skill in ambushing, and very well disposed to

[1] To make these figures agree approximately with the totals of the separate units, we must either assume a considerable lacuna in chap. 27. 6 or 28. 1, or else suppose that the light armed troops numbered about 18,000 and are included in the total; the 28,000 foot soldiers of Antigonus (chap. 27. 1) include only those capable of standing in the phalanx (chap. 29. 3).

[2] The Tarentines were cavalrymen equipped with javelins. The connection with Tarentum is obscure, but Tarentine coins show such troops (A. Martin in Daremberg et Saglio, 2. 770).

τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Φρυγίας καὶ Λυδίας χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ
μετὰ Πίθωνος χιλίους πεντακοσίους καὶ τοὺς μετὰ
Λυσανίου ξυστοφόρους τετρακοσίους, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ
τούς τε ἀμφίππους[1] ὀνομαζομένους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ
3 τῶν ἄνω κατοικούντων[2] ὀκτακοσίους. καὶ τὸ μὲν
εὐώνυμον κέρας ὑπὸ τούτων ἐπληροῦτο τῶν ἱπ-
πέων, ὧν ἁπάντων Πίθων εἶχε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν·
τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρῶτοι μὲν ἐτάχθησαν οἱ ξένοι,
πλείους ὄντες τῶν ἐννακισχιλίων, μετὰ δὲ τούτους
Λύκιοι καὶ Παμφύλιοι τρισχίλιοι, παντοδαποὶ δ'
εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ καθωπλισμένοι πλείους τῶν
ὀκτακισχιλίων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ Μακεδόνες οὐ πολὺ
ἐλάττους τῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων, οὓς ἔδωκεν Ἀντί-
πατρος καθ' ὃν καιρὸν ἐπιμελητὴς ἀπεδείχθη τῆς
4 βασιλείας. τῶν δ' ἱππέων πρῶτοι μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ
τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος συνάπτοντες τῇ φάλαγγι μισθο-
φόροι παντοδαποὶ πεντακόσιοι, ἑξῆς δὲ Θρᾷκες
χίλιοι, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων πεντακόσιοι, ἐχό-
μενοι δὲ τούτων οἱ προσαγορευθέντες ἑταῖροι χί-
λιοι, Δημήτριον ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου,
τότε πρώτως μέλλοντα συναγωνίζεσθαι τῷ πατρί.
5 ἐπ' ἄκρου δὲ τοῦ κέρατος ἦν τὸ ἄγημα τῶν ἱππέων
τριακοσίων, μεθ' ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκινδύνευε· πρό-
ταγμα δὲ τούτων[3] ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων παίδων εἶλαι τρεῖς
ὑπῆρχον καὶ ταύταις ἴσαι[4] παράλληλοι, συναγωνι-
6 ζομένων αὐτοῖς Ταραντίνων ἑκατόν. παρὰ[5] δὲ τὸ

[1] ἀμφίππους Wesseling: ἀσθίππους RV, ἀνθίππους XF.
[2] Fischer adds Θρᾳκῶν after κατοικούντων, cp. chap. 27. 5.
[3] πρόταγμα δὲ τούτων Wesseling, πρόταγμα δὲ τούτῳ Reiske: τὸ τάγμα δὲ τοῦτο.
[4] ἴσαι Dindorf: ἴσοι. [5] παρὰ Dindorf: περὶ.

[1] One must suppose that each of these brought an extra

himself, the thousand cavalry from Phrygia and Lydia, the fifteen hundred with Pithon, the four hundred lancers with Lysanias, and in addition to all these, the cavalry who are called the "two-horse men,"[1] and the eight hundred cavalry from the colonists established in the upper country. The left wing was made up of these cavalrymen, all of whom were under the command of Pithon. Of the infantry, more than nine thousand mercenaries were placed first, next to them three thousand Lycians and Pamphylians, then more than eight thousand mixed troops in Macedonian equipment, and finally nearly eight thousand Macedonians, whom Antipater had given him at the time when he was appointed regent of the kingdom. The first of the horsemen on the right wing adjacent to the phalanx were five hundred mercenaries of mixed origin, then a thousand Thracians, five hundred from the allies, and next to them the thousand known as the Companions with Antigonus' son Demetrius as commander, now about to fight in company with his father for the first time. At the outer end of the wing was the squadron of three hundred horsemen with whom Antigonus himself was entering the battle. As an advance guard for these there were three troops from his own slaves, and parallel to them were as many units reinforced by a hundred Tarentines.[2] Along the whole wing he 317 B.C.

mount to the battle, as did the Tarentines who followed Philopoemen (Livy, 35. 28. 8).

[2] The outer end of the wing consisted of the 300 horse under Antigonus in line with the cavalry previously mentioned, an advance guard of three troops (of 50 men each ?) from the personal retinue of Antigonus, and a rearguard of three similar troops plus 100 Tarentines (cp. chap. 28. 3–4). The forces enumerated total 10,600 horse and 28,000 heavy infantry (cp. chap. 27. 1).

κέρας πᾶν ἐξέταξε τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν ἐλεφάντων
τριάκοντα, ποιήσας[1] ἐπικάμπιον, καὶ τὰ διαστή-
ματα τούτων συνεπλήρωσε τοῖς ψιλοῖς τάγμασιν
ἐπιλέκτοις· τῶν δ' ἄλλων θηρίων τὰ πλείω μὲν
τῆς φάλαγγος προέστησεν, ὀλίγα δὲ μετὰ τῶν ἱπ-
7 πέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς εὐωνύμοις μέρεσι. τοῦτον δὲ
τὸν τρόπον ἐκτάξας τὸ στρατόπεδον κατέβαινεν
ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, λοξὴν ποιήσας τὴν τάξιν· τὸ
μὲν γὰρ δεξιὸν κέρας, ᾧ μάλιστα ἐπίστευεν, προ-
εβάλετο, τὸ δ' ἕτερον ὑπεστείλατο, διεγνωκὼς ᾧ
μὲν φυγομαχεῖν, ᾧ δὲ διαγωνίζεσθαι.[2]

30. Ἐπεὶ δὲ σύνεγγυς ἀλλήλων ἐγένετο τὰ
στρατόπεδα καὶ τὸ σύσσημον ἤρθη παρ' ἀμφο-
τέροις, ἐπηλάλαξαν μὲν αἱ δυνάμεις ἐπαλλὰξ πλεο-
νάκις, ἐσήμηναν δ' οἱ σαλπιγκταὶ τὸ πολεμικόν.
πρῶτοι δ' οἱ μετὰ Πίθωνος ἱππεῖς, στερεὸν μὲν
οὐδὲν οὐδ' ἀξιόλογον ἔχοντες πρόφραγμα περὶ αὐ-
τούς, ὑπερέχοντες δὲ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων τῷ τε
πλήθει καὶ ταῖς ἐλαφρότησιν, ἐπειρῶντο χρήσασθαι
2 τοῖς ἰδίοις προτερήμασι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ στόμα
διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς ἐλέφαντας οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἐνό-
μιζον, περιιππεύσαντες δὲ τὸ κέρας καὶ πλαγίοις
ἐμβαλόντες πυκνοῖς τοῖς βέλεσι κατετίτρωσκον,
αὐτοὶ μὲν διὰ τὰς ἐλαφρότητας οὐδὲν πάσχοντες,
μεγάλα δὲ βλάπτοντες τοὺς διὰ τὰ βάρη μήτ'
ἐκδιῶξαι δυναμένους μήτ' ἀναχωρεῖν ὅταν καιρὸς
3 παραγγείλῃ. Εὐμενὴς δ' ὁρῶν πιεζούμενον τὸ κέ-
ρας τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀφιπποτοξοτῶν μετεπέμψατο
παρ' Εὐδάμου τοῦ τὸ λαιὸν κέρας ἔχοντος τοὺς
4 ἐλαφροτάτους τῶν ἱππέων, ἐξαγαγὼν δὲ ἐπὶ κέρας

[1] δ' after ποιήσας deleted by Dindorf.
[2] δὲ διαγωνίζεσθαι Fischer: δ' ἀγωνίζεσθαι.

drew up the strongest thirty of the elephants, making 317 B.C.
a curved line, and he filled the intervals between them with selected light armed men. Most of the other elephants he placed before the phalanx, but a few were with the cavalry on the left wing. When he had drawn up the army in this fashion, he advanced down the hill against the enemy keeping an oblique front, for he thrust forward the right wing, in which he had most confidence, and held the left back, having determined to avoid battle with the one and to decide the contest with the other.

30. When the armies were close to each other and the signal had been raised in each of them, the troops shouted the battle-cry alternately several times and the trumpeters gave the signal for battle. First Pithon's cavalry, who had no stability or any advance-guard worth mentioning yet were superior to those arrayed against them in numbers and in mobility, began trying to make use of their own advantages. They did not consider it safe to make a frontal attack against elephants, yet by riding out around the wing and making an attack on the flanks, they kept inflicting wounds with repeated flights of arrows, suffering no harm themselves because of their mobility but causing great damage to the beasts, which because of their weight could neither pursue nor retire when the occasion demanded. When Eumenes, however, observed that the wing was hard pressed by the multitude of mounted archers, he summoned the most lightly equipped of his cavalry from Eudamus, who had the left wing. Leading the whole squadron in a flanking movement, he made an attack upon his

τὴν ὅλην[1] τάξιν τοῖς μὲν ψιλοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἐλαφροτά-
τοις τῶν ἱππέων εἰσέβαλεν εἰς τοὺς ἐναντίους,
ἐπακολουθούντων δὲ καὶ τῶν θηρίων ῥᾳδίως τρε-
ψάμενος τοὺς περὶ τὸν Πίθωνα κατεδίωξε μέχρι
5 τῆς ὑπωρίας. ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις συν-
έβη καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἐφ' ἱκανὸν μὲν χρόνον φαλαγ-
γομαχεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον πολλῶν
πεσόντων παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐπικρατῆσαι τοὺς παρ'
Εὐμενεῖ τεταγμένους διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων
6 Μακεδόνων ἀρετάς· οὗτοι γὰρ ταῖς μὲν ἡλικίαις
ἤδη προεβεβήκεισαν, διὰ δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κινδύ-
νων διέφερον ταῖς τόλμαις καὶ ταῖς εὐχειρίαις,
ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι κατὰ στόμα τὴν βίαν ὑπο-
στῆναι. διὸ καὶ τότε τρισχίλιοι μὲν ὄντες οἱονεὶ
στόμωμα καθειστήκεισαν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως.
7 Ἀντίγονος δ' ὁρῶν τό τε εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν
ἰδίων πεφευγότας καὶ τὴν φάλαγγα πᾶσαν τετραμ-
μένην τοῖς μὲν συμβουλεύουσιν ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸς τὴν
ὀρεινὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς φυγῆς σωζομένους ἀνα-
λαμβάνειν, ἄθραυστον ἔχοντα τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν μέρος
τῆς δυνάμεως, οὐ προσέσχε, τῷ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ καιροῦ
δοθέντι προτερήματι δεξιῶς χρησάμενος καὶ τοὺς
φεύγοντας τῶν ἰδίων ἔσωσε καὶ τῆς νίκης ἔτυχεν.
8 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀργυράσπιδες οἱ παρ' Εὐμενεῖ καὶ τὸ λοι-
πὸν πλῆθος τῶν πεζῶν ὡς τάχιστα ἐτρέψατο τοὺς
ἀντιτεταγμένους, ἐπεδίωκεν μέχρι τῆς ἐγγυτέ-
9 ρας[2] ὑπωρίας· ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος γενομένου διαστήμα-
τος ἐν τῇ τῶν πολεμίων τάξει διιππεύσας μέρει τῶν
ἱππέων ἐνέβαλεν εἰς πλαγίους τοὺς περὶ τὸν Εὔ-

[1] ὅλην Wesseling: ὀλίγην.
[2] ἐγγυτέρας F, πρότερον RX, Fischer (who obelizes it and suggests πορρώτερον).

opponents with light armed soldiers and the most lightly equipped of the cavalry. Since the elephants also followed, he easily routed the forces of Pithon, and pursued them to the foothills. At the same time that this was going on, it so happened that the infantry for a considerable time had been engaged in a battle of phalanxes, but finally, after many had fallen on both sides, Eumenes' men were victorious because of the valour of the Macedonian Silver Shields. These warriors were already well on in years,[1] but because of the great number of battles they had fought they were outstanding in hardihood and skill, so that no one confronting them was able to withstand their might. Therefore, although there were then only three thousand of them, they had become, so to speak, the spearhead of the whole army. 317 B.C.

Although Antigonus saw that his own left wing had been put to flight and that the entire phalanx had been defeated, he did not heed those who advised him to retire to the mountains and furnish a rallying point for those who escaped from the rout, while keeping the part of the army under his immediate command an unbroken unit; but rather, by cleverly taking advantage of the opportunities offered by the situation, he both saved the fugitives and gained the victory. For as soon as Eumenes' Silver Shields and the remaining body of his infantry had routed those who opposed them, they pursued them as far as the nearer hills; but Antigonus, now that a break was thus caused in the line of his enemy, charged through with a detachment of cavalry, striking on the flank the troops who had been stationed with Eudamus on

[1] None were less than sixty years of age (chap. 41. 2).

10 δαμον τεταγμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ κέρατος. ταχὺ δὲ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον τρεψάμενος τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνελὼν διαπέστειλε τῶν ἱππέων τοὺς ἐλαφροτάτους καὶ διὰ τούτων ἀνεκαλέσατο τοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπωρίαν πάλιν εἰς τάξιν κατέστησεν. καὶ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ πυθόμενοι τὴν τῶν ἰδίων τροπὴν ἀνεκαλοῦντο τῇ σάλπιγγι τοὺς διώκοντας, σπεύδοντες βοηθῆσαι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὔδαμον.

31. Ἤδη δὲ τῆς ὥρας οὔσης περὶ λύχνων ἁφὰς ἀμφότεροι τοὺς φεύγοντας ἀνακαλεσάμενοι πάλιν πᾶσαν ἐξέταττον τὴν δύναμιν· τοσαύτης φιλονεικίας ὑπῆρχον πλήρεις οὐχ οἱ στρατηγοὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ
2 τὰ πλήθη τῶν ἀγωνιζομένων. τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς οὔσης αἰθρίου καὶ πανσελήνου καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων ἀντιπαραγουσῶν ἀλλήλαις ὡς ἂν ἐν[1] τέτταρσι πλέθροις ὁ ψόφος τῶν ὅπλων καὶ τῶν ἵππων[2] ὁ φρυαγμὸς ἐν χερσὶν ἐδόκει πᾶσιν εἶναι τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις. ὡς δὲ παράγοντες ἀπέσχον ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπτωκότων ὡς τριάκοντα σταδίους, ἡ μὲν ὥρα κατελάμβανεν μεσονύκτιος, κακῶς δὲ διέκειντο ἀμφότεροι διά τε τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ
3 μάχῃ κακοπάθειαν, ἔτι δὲ τὴν ἀσιτίαν, ὥστε ἠναγκάσθησαν ἀφέμενοι τῆς μάχης καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι. Εὐμενὴς μὲν οὖν ἐπεχείρει ἀναζευγνύειν ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν, σπεύδων κρατεῖν τῆς τούτων ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τὴν νίκην ἀναμφισβήτητον περιποιήσασθαι. οὐ προσεχόντων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, ἀλλὰ βοώντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποσκευὴν ἀναχωρεῖν μακρὰν ἀπέχουσαν ἠναγκάσθη πεισθῆναι τῷ πλήθει·

[1] ἐν added by Wesseling.
[2] ἵππων Wesseling: ἱππέων.

the left wing. Because the attack was unexpected, 317 B.C. he quickly put to flight those who faced him, destroying many of them; then he sent out the swiftest of his mounted men and by means of them he assembled those of his soldiers who were fleeing and once more formed them into a line along the foothills. As soon as Eumenes learned of the defeat of his own soldiers he recalled the pursuers by a trumpet signal, for he was eager to aid Eudamus.

31. Although it was already lamp-lighting time, both rallied their fleeing troops and began to put their entire forces in battle order once more, such zeal for victory filled not only the generals but also the mass of the contestants. Since the night was clear and lighted by a full moon and the armies were forming parallel to each other at a distance of about four plethra,[1] the clatter of arms and the snorting of the horses seemed close at hand to all the contestants. But as they were moving from column into line, being distant about thirty stades[2] from those who had fallen in the battle, the hour of midnight overtook them, and both armies were so exhausted by marching, by their suffering in the battle, and by lack of food, that they were forced to give up the battle and go into camp. Eumenes undertook to march back to the dead, desiring to control the disposal of the bodies and to put his claim to victory beyond dispute. When, however, the soldiers would not listen to him, insisting with shouts that they return to their own baggage train, which was some distance away, he was forced to yield to the majority[3]; for he was not able to

[1] 400 feet. [2] About three and one-half miles.
[3] Cp. Nepos, *Eumenes*, 8, 10.

4 οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς στρατιώταις δυνατὸν ἦν πικρῶς ἐπιτιμᾶν ἀμφισβητούντων πολλῶν τῆς στρατηγίας, οὔτε τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον ἑώρα κολάζειν τοὺς ἀπειθοῦντας. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος τοὐναντίον χωρὶς δημαγωγίας βεβαίως ἔχων τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐβιάσατο μὲν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῶν νεκρῶν στρατοπεδεῦσαι, κύριος δὲ γενόμενος τῆς τούτων ταφῆς ἠμφισβήτει τῆς νίκης, ἀποφαινόμενος προτερεῖν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
5 τὸ τῶν πεσόντων κυριεῦσαι. ἀνῃρέθησαν δ' ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῶν μὲν Ἀντιγόνου πεζοὶ μὲν εἰς τρισχιλίους ἑπτακοσίους, ἱππεῖς δὲ πεντήκοντα τέσσαρες, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πλείους τῶν τετρακισχιλίων· τῶν δ' Εὐμενοῦς ἔπεσον πεζοὶ μὲν πεντακόσιοι τεσσαράκοντα, ἱππεῖς δ' ὀλίγοι παντελῶς, τραυματίαι δ' ἐγένοντο πλείους τῶν ἐννακοσίων.

32. Ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀποχώρησιν ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἀθυμοῦντας διέγνω τὴν ταχίστην ἀναζευγνύειν ὡς πορρωτάτω τῶν πολεμίων. βουλόμενος δ' εὔζωνον ποιῆσαι τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὴν ἀποχώρησιν τοὺς μὲν τραυματίας καὶ τὰ βαρύτατα τῆς ἀποσκευῆς προαπέστειλεν εἴς τινα τῶν πλησίον πόλεων, τοὺς δὲ νεκροὺς ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ θάψας καὶ παρακατασχὼν τὸν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἥκοντα κήρυκα περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναιρέσεως παρήγγειλε τῆς ὥρας δειπνο-
2 ποιεῖσθαι. τῆς δ' ἡμέρας διελθούσης τὸν μὲν κήρυκα ἀπέπεμψε,[1] δοὺς εἰς τὴν αὔριον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, αὐτὸς δὲ πρώτης φυλακῆς ἀρχομένης ἀνέζευξε μετὰ πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ συντόνους τὰς πορείας ποιούμενος ἀπέστη μὲν τῶν πολεμίων μακράν, ἔσχε δὲ χώραν ἀκεραίαν εἰς ἀνάληψιν τοῦ

[1] ἀπέπεμψε Dindorf: ἔπεμψε.

punish the soldiers severely when there were many 317 B.C.
who disputed his right to command, and he saw that the time was not suitable for chastising those who disobeyed. On the other hand, Antigonus, who firmly held the command without need of courting popular favour, forced his army to make camp by the bodies; and since he gained control of their burial, he claimed the victory, declaring that to possess the fallen is to be victorious in battle.[1] In this battle three thousand seven hundred foot and fifty-four horse from the army of Antigonus were slain and more than four thousand men were wounded; five hundred and forty of Eumenes' infantry and very few of his cavalry fell, and the wounded were more than nine hundred.

32. When after leaving the battle Antigonus saw that his men were disheartened, he decided to move as far as possible from the enemy with the utmost speed. Wishing to have the army unencumbered for the retirement, he sent the wounded men and the heaviest part of the baggage ahead to one of the neighbouring cities. He began to bury the dead at dawn and detained the herald who had come from the enemy to treat for the recovery of the bodies[2]; and he ordered his men to eat dinner at once. When the day had passed he sent the herald back, assigning the removal of the bodies to the next morning, but he himself at the beginning of the first watch broke camp with the whole army, and by making forced marches withdrew a long distance from the enemy and gained

[1] Cp., *e.g.*, Book 17. 68. 4; Justin, 6. 6. 10; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 7. 5. 26.

[2] This was to prevent Eumenes from discovering that Antigonus' losses were far greater than his own (Polyaenus, 4. 6. 10).

στρατοπέδου· διήνυσε γὰρ ἕως Γαμάργων τῆς Μηδίας, οὔσης τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ Πίθωνα καὶ δυναμένης μεγάλαις δυνάμεσι πρὸς διατροφὴν δαψιλῶς
3 ἅπαντα χορηγῆσαι. Εὐμενὴς δὲ διὰ τῶν κατασκόπων πυθόμενος τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον τοῦ μὲν διώκειν ἀπέστη διὰ τὸ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους στρατιώτας ἐν ἀσιτίᾳ καὶ κακοπαθείαις μεγάλαις γεγονέναι, περὶ δὲ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν τετελευτηκότων γενόμενος ἐπεμελήθη τῆς ταφῆς μεγαλοπρεπῶς. ἔνθα δὴ συνέβη γενέσθαι πρᾶγμα παράδοξον καὶ πολὺ τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι νομίμων ἐξηλλαγμένον.

33. Κητεὺς γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἀπηντηκότων στρατηγὸς ἀνῃρέθη μὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος, ἀπέλιπε δὲ δύο γυναῖκας συνακολουθούσας ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὴν μὲν νεόγαμον, τὴν δὲ ὀλίγοις ἔτεσι πρότερον συνοικήσασαν, ἀμφοτέρας δὲ φιλοστόργως πρὸς αὐτὸν διακειμένας.
2 ὄντος δὲ παλαιοῦ νόμου παρὰ τοῖς Ἰνδοῖς τοὺς γαμοῦντας καὶ τὰς γαμουμένας παρθένους μὴ διὰ τῆς τῶν γονέων κρίσεως ποιεῖσθαι τὸν γάμον, ἀλλὰ πείσαντας ἀλλήλους, τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον τῆς μνηστείας γενομένης διὰ νεωτέρων ταῖς ἡλικίαις ὡς ἐπὶ πολὺ συνέβαινε διαπίπτειν τὰς κρίσεις καὶ ταχὺ μεταμελομένων ἀμφοτέρων πολλὰς τῶν γυναικῶν διαφθείρεσθαι καὶ δι' ἀκρασίαν φιλοστοργεῖν ἑτέρους, τέλος δὲ μὴ δυναμένας εὐσχημόνως ἀπολιπεῖν τοὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς προκριθέντας διὰ φαρμάκων ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς συνοικοῦντας, καὶ τὴν χώραν δ' οὐκ ὀλίγας ἀφορμὰς αὐταῖς δοῦναι, πολλὰς καὶ ποικίλας φέρουσαν φθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις, ἐξ ὧν ἐνίας προσχρωσθείσας μόνον τοῖς ἐδέσμασιν ἢ ποτηρί-

an unplundered country in which to refresh his soldiers. He went, indeed, as far as Gamarga[1] in Media, a land that was subject to Pithon and that was able to supply great armies abundantly with everything needed for their support. When Eumenes learned through scouts of the departure of Antigonus, he refrained from following him because his own soldiers also had lacked food and had suffered great hardship; but he attended to the taking up of the dead and saw to it that they received a magnificent burial. Then an event took place that was amazing and very different from Greek custom. 317 B.C.

33. Ceteus, the general of the soldiers who had come from India, was killed in the battle after fighting brilliantly, but he left two wives who had accompanied him in the army, one of them a bride, the other married to him some years before, but both of them loving him deeply. It is an ancient custom among the Indians that the men who marry and the maidens who are married do not do so as a result of the decision of their parents but by mutual persuasion. Formerly, since the wooing was done by persons who were too young, it often happened that, the choice turning out badly, both would quickly regret their act, and that many wives were first seduced, then through wantonness gave their love to other men, and finally, not being able without disgrace to leave the mates whom they had first selected, would kill their husbands by poison. The country, indeed, furnished no few means for this, since it produced many and varied deadly poisons, some of which when merely spread upon the food or

[1] Probably identical with Gadamala (chap. 37. 1). Neither the location nor the correct form of the name is certain.

3 οις ἐπιφέρειν τὴν ἀπώλειαν. ἐπιπολαζούσης δὲ τῆς
ῥᾳδιουργίας καὶ πολλῶν ἀναιρουμένων τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ κολάζοντες τὰς αἰτίας τῶν κακῶν
οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν ἀποτρέψαι τὰς ἄλλας τῶν ἀδικη-
μάτων, νόμον ἔθεσαν ὅπως συγκατακαίωνται τοῖς
τετελευτηκόσιν ἀνδράσιν αἱ γυναῖκες πλὴν τῶν
ἐγκύων ἢ τῶν ἐχουσῶν τέκνα, τὴν δὲ μὴ βουλο-
μένην τῷ δόγματι πειθαρχεῖν χήραν μὲν εἶναι[1] διὰ
τέλους καὶ θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων νομίμων εἴργε-
4 σθαι διὰ παντὸς ὡς ἀσεβοῦσαν. τούτων δὲ νομο-
θετηθέντων εἰς τοὐναντίον τὴν παρανομίαν τῶν
γυναικῶν μεταβαλεῖν συνέβη· διὰ γὰρ τὴν ὑπερ-
βολὴν τῆς ἀτιμίας, ἑκάστης ὑπομενούσης ἑκουσίως
τὸν θάνατον, οὐ μόνον προνοεῖσθαι τῆς τῶν συνοι-
κούντων ἀσφαλείας ὡς κοινῆς οὔσης, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
ἀλλήλας ἁμιλλᾶσθαι καθάπερ ὑπὲρ τῆς μεγίστης
εὐδοξίας.

34. Ὃ καὶ τότε συνέβη· τοῦ γὰρ νόμου μίαν
κελεύοντος συγκατακάεσθαι παρῆσαν ἀμφότεραι
πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Κητέως ταφήν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ συναπο-
2 θανεῖν ὡς ὑπὲρ ἀριστίου συμφιλοτιμούμεναι. τῶν
δὲ στρατηγῶν διακρινόντων ἡ νεωτέρα μὲν ἀπ-
εφαίνετο τὴν ἑτέραν ἔγκυον εἶναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μὴ
δύνασθαι χρήσασθαι τῷ νόμῳ, ἡ δὲ πρεσβυτέρα
δικαιότερον ἀπεφαίνετο εἶναι τὴν προέχουσαν τοῖς
χρόνοις προέχειν καὶ τῇ τιμῇ· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ἁπάντων θεωρεῖσθαι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους
πολὺ προέχοντας τῶν νεωτέρων εἰς ἐντροπὴν καὶ
3 τιμήν. οἱ δ᾽ οὖν στρατηγοὶ διὰ τῶν μαιεύεσθαι
δυναμένων γνόντες τὴν πρεσβυτέραν ἔγκυον οὖσαν
προέκριναν τὴν νεωτέραν. οὗ συμβάντος ἡ μὲν

[1] μὲν εἶναι MSS., Fischer, μένειν Dindorf.

the wine cups cause death. But when this evil became fashionable and many were murdered in this way, the Indians, although they punished those guilty of the crime, since they were not able to deter the others from wrongdoing, established a law that wives, except such as were pregnant or had children, should be cremated along with their deceased husbands, and that one who was not willing to obey this law should not only be a widow for life but also be entirely debarred from sacrifices and other religious observances as unclean.[1] When these laws had been established, the lawlessness of the women changed into the opposite, for as each one because of the great loss of caste willingly met death, they not only cared for the safety of their husbands as if it were their own, but they even vied with each other as for a very great honour. 317 B.C.

34. Such rivalry appeared on this occasion. Although the law ordered only one of Ceteus' wives to be cremated with him, both of them appeared at his funeral, contending for the right of dying with him as for a prize of valour. When the generals undertook to decide the matter, the younger wife claimed that the other was pregnant and for that reason could not take advantage of the law; and the elder asserted that more justly should the one who had the precedence in years have precedence also in honour, for in all other matters those who are older are regarded as having great precedence over the younger in respect and in honour. The generals, ascertaining from those skilled in midwifery that the elder was pregnant, decided for the younger. When this

[1] This same origin of the custom of suttee is given in Strabo, 15. 1. 30 (cp. also 15. 1. 62).

ἀποτυχοῦσα τῆς κρίσεως ἀπῄει μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ, καταρρήξασα τὸ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν διάδημα καὶ τὰς τρίχας σπαράσσουσα, καθαπερεί τινος συμφορᾶς μεγάλης προσηγγελμένης· ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ περιχαρὴς ἀπῄει πρὸς τὴν πυράν, στεφανουμένη μὲν μίτραις ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων γυναικῶν, κεκοσμημένη δὲ διαπρεπῶς ὥσπερ εἴς τινα γάμον προεπέμπετο ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, ᾀδόντων ὕμνον εἰς τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐ-
4 τῆς. ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς ἐγενήθη τῆς πυρᾶς, περιαιρουμένη τὸν κόσμον ἑαυτῆς διεδίδου τοῖς οἰκείοις καὶ φίλοις, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, καταλείπουσα τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι μνημεῖον. ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἦν περὶ μὲν τὰς χεῖρας δακτυλίων[1] πλῆθος ἐνδεδεμένων λίθοις πολυτελέσι καὶ διηλλαγμένοις τοῖς χρώμασι, περὶ δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν χρυσῶν ἀστερίσκων[2] οὐκ ὀλίγος ἀριθμὸς παντοδαποῖς λίθοις διειλημμένων,[3] περὶ δὲ τὸν τράχηλον ὅρμων πλῆθος, τῶν μὲν ἐλασσόνων, τῶν δ᾽ ἐκ τοῦ κατ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀεὶ καθ᾽ ὑπέρθεσιν μειζόνων.
5 τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον ἀσπασαμένη τοὺς οἰκείους ὑπὸ τἀδελφοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πυρὰν ἀνεβιβάσθη, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ συνδραμόντος ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν πλήθους θαυμα-
6 σθεῖσα κατέστρεψεν ἡρωικῶς τὸν βίον· ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις πᾶσα πρὶν ἅπτεσθαι τὴν πυρὰν τρὶς περιῆλθεν, αὐτὴ[4] δὲ τἀνδρὶ παρακλιθεῖσα καὶ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ὁρμὴν οὐδεμίαν φωνὴν ἀγεννῆ προεμένη προεκαλέσατο τῶν ὁρώντων τοὺς μὲν εἰς ἔλεον, τοὺς δὲ εἰς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπαίνων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἔνιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπετίμων τοῖς νομίμοις ὡς ἀγρίοις οὖσι καὶ χαλεποῖς.

7 Ὁ δ᾽ Εὐμενὴς ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ταφῆς γενόμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῶν Παραιτάκων

[1] τε after δακτυλίων deleted by Dindorf.

happened, the one who had lost the decision departed 317 B.C.
weeping, rending the wreath that was about her head and tearing her hair, just as if some great disaster had been announced to her; but the other, rejoicing in her victory, went off to the pyre crowned with fillets that her maidservants bound upon her head, and magnificently dressed as if for a wedding she was escorted by her kinsfolk, who sang a hymn in honour of her virtue. As she drew near the pyre, she stripped off her ornaments and gave them to her servants and friends, leaving keepsakes, as one might say, to those who loved her. These were the ornaments: upon her hands a number of rings set with precious stones of various colours, about her head no small number of golden stars interspersed with stones of every kind, and about her neck numerous necklaces, some of them smaller, the others each a little larger in a constant progression. Finally, after taking leave of the household, she was assisted to mount the pyre by her brother, and while the multitude that had gathered for the spectacle watched with amazement, she ended her life in heroic fashion. For the entire army under arms marched three times about the pyre before it was lighted, and she herself, reclining beside her husband and letting no ignoble cry escape her during the onset of the fire, stirred some of those who beheld her to pity, others to extravagant praise. Nevertheless some of the Greeks denounced the custom as barbarous and cruel.

When Eumenes had completed the burial of the dead, he moved the army from among the Parae-

[2] ἀστερίσκων Wesseling: ἀστερισμῶν.
[3] διειλημμένων Wesseling: διειλημμένος.
[4] αὐτὴ Dindorf: αὕτη.

εἰς τὴν Γαβηνήν, οὖσαν ἀκέραιον καὶ δυναμένην
8 πάντα δαψιλῆ ταῖς δυνάμεσι παρέχεσθαι. ἀπέχειν
δὲ συνέβαινε τὴν χώραν ταύτην τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγο-
νον διὰ μὲν τῆς οἰκουμένης πορευομένῳ σταθμοὺς
εἴκοσι πέντε, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνύδρου
σταθμοὺς ἐννέα. οἱ μὲν οὖν περὶ Εὐμενῆ καὶ
τὸν Ἀντίγονον τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διεστῶτες ἐν
τούτοις τοῖς τόποις παρεχείμαζον ἅμα καὶ τὰς
δυνάμεις ἀνελάμβανον.

35. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Εὐρώπην Κάσανδρος μὲν ἐν
Πελοποννήσῳ Τεγέαν πολιορκῶν καὶ πυθόμενος
τήν τε Ὀλυμπιάδος κάθοδον εἰς Μακεδονίαν καὶ
τὴν Εὐρυδίκης καὶ Φιλίππου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀναί-
ρεσιν, ἔτι δὲ τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰόλλα τἀδελφοῦ τάφον[1]
συμβεβηκότα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς Τεγεάτας διελύσατο,
τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀναλαβὼν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν,
καταλιπὼν τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν πολλῇ ταραχῇ·
ἐφήδρευε γὰρ ταῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεσιν
Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυπέρχοντος ἔχων στρατόπεδον.
2 Αἰτωλοὶ δὲ χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι τῇ τε Ὀλυμ-
πιάδι καὶ Πολυπέρχοντι τὰ περὶ τὰς Πύλας
στενὰ κατελάβοντο καὶ τῆς παρόδου τὸν Κάσανδρον
ἀπέκλεισαν. ὁ δὲ βιάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τόπους δυσ-
εμβόλους ἀπέγνω, παρασκευασάμενος δὲ πλοῖα
καὶ σχεδίας ἔκ τε τῆς Εὐβοίας καὶ τῆς Λοκρίδος
3 ἐπεραίωσε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς τὴν Θετταλίαν. ἀκούων
δὲ περὶ τὴν Περραιβίαν προκαθῆσθαι[2] Πολυπέρ-
χοντα μετὰ στρατοπέδου Κάλλαν μὲν ἀπέστειλε
στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως, προστάξας διαπολεμεῖν
τοῖς μετὰ Πολυπέρχοντος. Δεινίας δὲ τὰ στενὰ

[1] τὰ περὶ . . . τάφον RX, Fischer, τὰ περὶ τἀδελφοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰόλλου τάφον F, τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν Ἰόλλου τάφον Dindorf.

[2] προκαθῆσθαι Wesseling: προσκαθῆσθαι.

taceni into Gabenê, which was unplundered and capable of supplying everything in abundance for the armies. It happened that this country was a twenty-five days' march from Antigonus if one went through inhabited country, but if one went through waterless desert, a march of nine days. In these regions and at this distance from each other Eumenes and Antigonus passed the winter and at the same time refreshed their men.[1] 317 B.C.

35. In Europe[2] when Cassander, who was besieging Tegea in the Peloponnesus, learned of the return of Olympias to Macedonia and of the murder of Eurydicê and King Philip, and moreover what had befallen the tomb of his brother Iollas,[3] he came to terms with the people of Tegea and set out for Macedonia with his army, leaving his allies in complete confusion; for Polyperchon's son Alexander with an army was waiting to attack the cities of the Peloponnesus. The Aetolians, who wished to please Olympias and Polyperchon, had occupied the pass at Thermopylae and barred Cassander from the passage. Cassander decided against forcing his way through this region, which was difficult to attack, but he secured boats and barges from Euboea and Locris and transported his army to Thessaly. Hearing that Polyperchon and his army were in position in Perrhaebia, he dispatched his general Callas with an army, ordering him to carry on the war with Polyperchon. Deinias,

[1] The winter of 317/16. Continued in chap. 37. 1.

[2] Continued from chap. 11. 9.

[3] For all these events cp. chap. 11. 8.

προκαταληψόμενος, ἀπαντήσας τοῖς ὑπ' Ὀλυμπιά-
δος ἐξαποσταλεῖσι στρατιώταις ἔφθασε τῶν παρό-
4 δων κυριεύσας. Ὀλυμπιὰς δὲ πυθομένη Κάσανδρον
μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως πλησίον εἶναι τῆς Μακε-
δονίας, Ἀριστόνουν μὲν ἀπέδειξε στρατηγόν,
5 κελεύσασα διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς περὶ Κάσανδρον, αὐτὴ
δὲ παρῆλθεν εἰς Πύδναν ἔχουσα τὸν υἱὸν τὸν
Ἀλεξάνδρου καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ Ῥωξάνην καὶ
Θετταλονίκην τὴν Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου θυγα-
τέρα, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Δηιδάμειάν τε τὴν Αἰακίδου
θυγατέρα τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν, Πύρρου
δὲ[1] τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους ὕστερον πολεμήσαντος
ἀδελφήν, καὶ τὰς Ἀττάλου θυγατέρας, ὁμοίως δὲ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀξιολογωτάτων φίλων τοὺς
συγγενεῖς, ὥστ' ἀθροισθῆναι περὶ αὐτὴν πλῆθος μὲν
πολὺ σωμάτων, ἀχρείων δ' εἰς πόλεμον τῶν πλεί-
στων· οὐδὲ γὰρ τροφῆς ἱκανὸν ἦν πλῆθος τοῖς
6 μέλλουσι πολιορκίαν ὑπομένειν πολυχρόνιον. ὧν
ἁπάντων πρόδηλον ἐχόντων τὸν κίνδυνον οὐδὲν
ἧττον ἐνταῦθα διέγνω μένειν, ἐλπίζουσα αὐτῇ
βοηθήσειν κατὰ θάλασσαν Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Μακε-
7 δόνων πολλούς. συνῆσαν δ' αὐτῇ τῶν τ' ἐξ Ἀμ-
βρακίας ἱππέων τινὲς καὶ τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν
εἰωθότων διατρίβειν στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλείους, ἔτι
δὲ τῶν μετὰ Πολυπέρχοντος ἐλεφάντων οἱ κατα-
λειφθέντες· τῶν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων θηρίων[2] κατὰ
τὴν προτέραν ἐμβολὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν Κάσανδρος
ἐκεκυριεύκει.

36. Ὃς τότε διελθὼν τὰ κατὰ Περραιβίαν στενὰ καὶ παραγενόμενος πλησίον τῆς Πύδνης τὴν μὲν πόλιν περιεχαράκωσεν ἐκ θαλάττης εἰς θάλατταν, παρὰ δὲ τῶν συμμαχεῖν βουλομένων μετεπέμπετο

[1] δὲ Dindorf: τε.
[2] τῶν after θηρίων deleted by Dindorf.

however, in order to occupy the passes, went to meet 317 B.C.
the soldiers who had been sent out by Olympias and gained control of the defiles ahead of them. But Olympias, on learning that Cassander and a large army were near Macedonia, designated Aristonoüs general, ordering him to fight Cassander, and she herself went to Pydna accompanied by the following: Alexander's son, his mother Roxanê, and Thessalonicê, daughter of Philip son of Amyntas; also Deïdameia, daughter of Aeacides king of the Epirotes and sister of that Pyrrhus who later fought against the Romans, the daughters of Attalus, and finally the kinsfolk of Olympias' other more important friends. Thus there were gathered about her a large number of persons, but persons for the most part useless in war; and there was not a sufficient supply of food for people who were about to endure a very long siege. Although the risk involved in all these circumstances was clear, none the less she decided to remain there, hoping that many Greeks and Macedonians would come to her aid by sea. She had with her some of the Ambracian horse and most of the soldiers who were accustomed to serve about the court, also those of Polyperchon's elephants that remained, for Cassander had gained possession of the rest of the elephants in his previous expedition into Macedonia.[1]

36. Cassander, going through the passes of Perrhaebia and arriving near Pydna, surrounded the city from sea to sea with a stockade and requisitioned

[1] Cp. Book 18. 75. 1. Except for these two incidental references there is no evidence for this expedition.

ναῦς καὶ βέλη παντοδαπὰ καὶ μηχανάς, διανοούμενος πολιορκεῖν τοὺς μετ' Ὀλυμπιάδος καὶ κατὰ
2 γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν. πυθόμενος δ' Αἰακίδην τὸν Ἠπειρωτῶν βασιλέα μετὰ δυνάμεως μέλλειν βοηθήσειν Ὀλυμπιάδι, στρατηγὸν ἐξέπεμψεν Ἀταρρίαν, δοὺς στρατόπεδον καὶ συντάξας ἀπαντᾶν τοῖς
3 Ἠπειρώταις. οὗ ταχὺ τὸ προσταχθὲν ποιήσαντος καὶ τὰς ἐξ Ἠπείρου παρόδους προκαταλαβομένου συνέβη τὸν Αἰακίδην ἄπρακτον γενέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν ἀκουσίως ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίας καὶ στάσιν ἐποίει κατὰ τὴν παρεμβολήν· ὁ δὲ Αἰακίδης ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου βουλόμενος βοηθεῖν Ὀλυμπιάδι τοὺς μὲν ἀλλοτρίως διακειμένους ἀπέλυσε τῆς στρατείας, τοὺς δὲ συγκινδυνεύειν βουλομένους ἀναλαβὼν προθυμίαν μὲν εἶχε τοῦ διακινδυνεύειν, οὐκ ἀξιόμαχος δ' ἦν ὡς ἂν ὀλίγου καταλελειμμένου τοῦ περὶ αὐτὸν
4 συστήματος. οἱ δὲ χωρισθέντες τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν εἰς τὰς πατρίδας κατεστασίασαν ἀπόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κοινῷ δόγματι φυγὴν αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἐποιήσαντο συμμαχίαν. ὅπερ οὐδέποτε γενέσθαι συνέβη κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον ἀφ' οὗ Νεοπτόλεμος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἐβασίλευσε τῆς χώρας· ἀεὶ γὰρ παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς διαδεχόμενος τὴν δυναστείαν ἐναπέθνησκε ταῖς βασιλείαις μέχρι τῶν-
5 δε τῶν καιρῶν. Κασάνδρου δὲ παραλαβόντος τὴν Ἤπειρον τῇ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ πέμψαντος εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπιμελητὴν ἅμα καὶ στρατηγὸν Λυκίσκον οἱ πρότερον κατὰ Μακεδονίαν διστάζοντες περὶ τῆς συμμαχίας ἀπήλπισαν μὲν τὰ κατ' Ὀλυμπιάδα πράγματα, τῷ δὲ Κασάνδρῳ προσέθεντο. μιᾶς δ' οὔσης αὐτῇ βοηθείας τῆς παρὰ Πολυπέρχοντος

ships, missile weapons of all sorts, and engines of war 317 B.C.
from those who wished to become his allies, with the intention of laying siege to Olympias by land and sea.[1] Being informed that Aeacides king of the Epirotes was about to come to the aid of Olympias with an army, he sent out Atarrhias as general, giving him an army and ordering him to meet the Epirotes. Atarrhias carried out his orders quickly and by occupying the passes from Epirus succeeded in holding Aeacides inactive. Indeed, most of the Epirotes set out for Macedonia against their will and were mutinying in the camp; and Aeacides, who wished at all costs to aid Olympias, by releasing from the army those who were disaffected and taking those who wished to share the fortunes of war with him, although he showed his zeal for a fight to a finish, was not a match for his opponents because few of his army remained. Those of the Epirotes who went back to their native land rebelled against their absent king, condemned him to exile by a public decree, and made an alliance with Cassander. This was something that had never happened in Epirus from the time when Neoptolemus the son of Achilles was king of the land; for sons had always succeeded to their fathers' authority and had died on the throne up to this time. Cassander received Epirus in his alliance and sent Lyciscus to it as regent and general, at which the people throughout Macedonia who had previously held apart from the alliance abandoned the fortunes of Olympias in despair and joined themselves to Cassander. Her only hope of aid was from Polyperchon, and this was also

[1] The siege began in the early part of the winter of 317/16.

6 συνέβη καὶ ταύτην συντριβῆναι παραδόξως· ὁ
γὰρ ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου πεμφθεὶς στρατηγὸς Κάλλας
ἐπειδὴ πλησίον γενόμενος τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος κατ-
εστρατοπέδευσεν ἐν τῇ Περραιβίᾳ, διέφθειρε τῶν
μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πλείστους χρήμα-
σιν, ὥστε ὀλίγους τοὺς μάλιστα πιστοὺς ἀπο-
λειφθῆναι. αἱ μὲν οὖν Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐλπίδες ἐν
ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐταπεινώθησαν.

37. Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀσίαν Ἀντίγονος μὲν χειμά-
ζων ἐν Γαδαμάλοις τῆς Μηδίας καὶ θεωρῶν τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν ἀσθενεστέραν οὖσαν τῆς τῶν πολε-
μίων ἔσπευδεν ἀνελπίστως αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι καὶ
καταστρατηγῆσαι. ἐτύγχανον δ᾽ οὗτοι τὴν χει-
μασίαν ἔχοντες ἐν πολλοῖς μέρεσι διεζευγμένην,
ὥστ᾽ ἐνίους ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀπέχειν ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἕξ.
2 τὸ μὲν οὖν διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας ὁδοιπορεῖν
ἀπεδοκίμασε διὰ τὸ καὶ μακρὰν εἶναι καὶ τοῖς
πολεμίοις εὐθεώρητον, τὸ δὲ τολμῆσαι διὰ τῆς
ἐρήμου καὶ ἀνύδρου προάγειν ἐπίπονον μὲν ἔκρινεν,
εἰς δὲ τὴν βεβουλευμένην ἐπιβολὴν χρησιμώτατον·
οὐ μόνον γὰρ διὰ ταύτης συντόμως ἦν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ ῥᾳδίως λαθεῖν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἐπιπεσόντα τοῖς
διὰ τὴν ἄγνοιαν διερριμμένοις κατὰ κώμας καὶ
3 ῥᾳθυμοῦσι. ταῦτα δὲ διανοηθεὶς τοῖς μὲν στρατιώ-
ταις παρήγγειλεν ἑτοίμους εἶναι πρὸς ἀνάζευξιν καὶ
παρασκευάσασθαι δέχ᾽ ἡμερῶν ἄπυρα σιτία, αὐτὸς
δὲ διαδοὺς[1] λόγον ἐπ᾽ Ἀρμενίας προάξειν ἄφνω
παρὰ τὴν πάντων ὑπόληψιν ὥρμησε διὰ τῆς ἐρή-

[1] διαδοὺς Dindorf: δοὺς.

[1] Continued in chap. 49.
[2] Continued from chap. 34. 8.
[3] Gadamala is probably identical with Gamarga (chap.

unexpectedly crushed; for when Callas, who had been 317 B.C.
sent by Cassander as general, drew near Polyperchon in Perrhaebia and camped there, he corrupted most of Polyperchon's soldiers by bribes so that there remained only a few and these the most faithful. Thus Olympias' hopes were humbled in a brief time.[1]

37. In Asia[2] Antigonus, who was wintering in Gadamala[3] in Media, seeing that his force was weaker than that of the enemy, was anxious to get the better of them by attacking them without warning. It happened that the enemy[4] were occupying winter quarters which were divided in many parts, so that some of the detachments were six days' march distant from others. So Antigonus disapproved of the idea of marching through the inhabited country[5] because the route was long and easily observed by the enemy, and decided that to venture the journey through the waterless desert although difficult, would be most suitable for the attack that he had planned; for not only was it possible to go quickly by that route, but it was also easy to escape attention and fall unexpectedly upon an army that, because ignorant of his movements, would be scattered among villages and at its ease. Having formed this plan he ordered the soldiers to be ready to break camp and to prepare ten days' supply of food that would not require cooking. He himself, after spreading the report that he was going to lead the army against Armenia, suddenly and contrary to the assumption of all set out across the

32. 2). Neither the exact location nor the correct form of the name is certain. The winter is that of 317/16.
[4] *i.e.* the army of Eumenes.
[5] Cp. chap. 34. 8. For the following campaign cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 15.

μου, τῆς ὥρας οὔσης περὶ χειμερινὰς τροπάς.
4 κατὰ δὲ τὰς στρατοπεδείας παρήγγειλε τῆς ἡμέρας μὲν τὰ πυρὰ κάειν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς κατασβεννύναι τελέως, ὅπως μή τινες ἐκ τῶν μετεώρων κατανοήσαντες ἀπαγγείλωσι τὸ γινόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις·
5 ἦν γὰρ ἡ μὲν ἔρημος πᾶσα σχεδὸν πεδιάς, περιείχετο δὲ ὑπὸ λόφων ὑψηλῶν, ἀφ' ὧν ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἐκ πολλοῦ διαστήματος συνορᾶν τὴν αὐγὴν τοῦ πυρός. ἐπιπόνως δὲ τῆς δυνάμεως πένθ' ἡμέρας ὁδοιπορούσης οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται διά τε τὸ ψῦχος καὶ τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας ἔκαον πῦρ μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ
6 νύκτωρ ἐν ταῖς στρατοπεδείαις. ὃ δὴ συνιδόντες τινὲς τῶν παρὰ τὴν ἔρημον οἰκούντων ἔπεμψαν τοὺς ἀπαγγελοῦντας αὐθημερὸν τοῖς περὶ Εὐμενῆ καὶ Πευκέστην, δόντες δρομάδας καμήλους· διατείνει γὰρ τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο σταδίους οὐ πολὺ ἐλάττους χιλίων πεντακοσίων.

38. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πευκέστην πυθόμενοι κατὰ μέσην τὴν ὁδὸν ἑωρᾶσθαι τὴν στρατοπεδείαν, διέγνωσαν ἀναχωρεῖν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους τόπους τῆς χειμασίας, φοβούμενοι μὴ καταληφθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν πανταχόθεν τὴν συμ-
2 μαχοῦσαν δύναμιν. ὧν ὁρῶν τὴν ἀθυμίαν Εὐμενὴς θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῶν ὅρων τῆς ἐρήμου· εὑρηκέναι γὰρ τρόπον δι' οὗ ποιήσει τὸν Ἀντίγονον ὕστερον ἡμέραις τρισὶν ἢ τέτταρσι παραγενέσθαι· τούτου δὲ γενομένου τὴν μὲν ἑαυτῶν δύναμιν ῥᾳδίως ἀθροισθήσεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους καταπεπονημένους καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας ὑπο-
3 χειρίους γενήσεσθαι. πάντων δὲ θαυμασάντων τὸ

desert, it being about the time of the winter solstice.[1] 317/16 B.C. He gave orders to build the fires in the camps by day, but to extinguish them completely at night, so that no one seeing them from the higher ground might take word to the enemy of what was happening; for almost the entire desert was a plain, but it was surrounded by high hills from which it was easy to see the gleam of fire from a great distance. After the army had been marching five days with great suffering, the soldiers because of the cold and to satisfy their urgent needs burned fires in the camps both by day and by night. On seeing this, certain of those who lived near the desert sent men to report it on the same day to Eumenes and Peucestes, giving them dromedaries, for this animal can travel continuously for almost fifteen hundred stades.[2]

38. When Peucestes learned that a camp had been seen in the middle of the route, he made up his mind to withdraw to the most distant part of the territory in which they were wintering, for he was afraid that they might be overtaken by the enemy before the allied force assembled from all directions. Seeing his lack of spirit, Eumenes urged him to take courage and to remain on the borders of the desert; for, he said, he had found a way through which he would delay Antigonus' arrival by three or four days. If this took place, he added, their own force would easily be assembled, and the enemy would be delivered over into their hands when utterly worn out and lacking everything. While all were wondering at this strange

[1] December, 317.
[2] About 170 miles. For the speed of these dromedaries (literally, running camels) cp. Strabo, 15. 2. 10; Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments*, 160-161.

παράδοξον τῆς ἐπαγγελίας καὶ ζητούντων μαθεῖν τί ποτ' ἔσται τὸ δυνάμενον κωλῦσαι προάγειν τοὺς ἐναντίους, προσέταξεν ἀκολουθεῖν ἑαυτῷ πάντας τοὺς ἡγεμόνας μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων στρατιωτῶν, ἔχοντας ἐν ἀγγείοις πλείοσι πῦρ. ἐκλεξάμενος δὲ τῆς μετεώρου χώρας τόπον ἐστραμμένον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρημον καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀποθεώρησιν πανταχόθεν εὐφυῆ, σημεῖα θέμενος περιέλαβεν ὡς ἂν ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων περιφέρειαν. διελὼν δὲ τόπους ἑκάστῳ τῶν συνακολουθούντων συνέταξε νυκτὸς πῦρ κάειν διαστάντας[1] ὡς ἂν εἴκοσι πήχεις καὶ κατὰ μὲν τὴν πρώτην φυλακὴν πολλὴν φλόγα ποιεῖν ὡς ἂν ἐγρηγορότων ἔτι καὶ πρὸς θεραπείαν καὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευαζομένων, τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ἐλάττω, καὶ τῆς τρίτης ἀπολιπεῖν ὀλίγα παντελῶς ὥστε δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῖς ἐξ ἀποστήματος θεωροῦσιν ἀληθινὴν
4 στρατοπεδείαν. τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν κατενόησάν τινες τὰ πυρὰ τῶν νεμομένων μὲν τὴν ἀπεναντίον ὀρεινήν, φίλων δ' ὄντων Πίθωνι τῷ Μηδίας σατράπῃ. δόξαντες δὲ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἶναι στρατοπεδείαν, καταδραμόντες εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἀπήγγειλαν τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ
5 Πίθωνα. οἱ δὲ διὰ τὸ παράδοξον καταπλαγέντες καὶ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπισχόντες ἐβουλεύοντο πῶς χρηστέον τοῖς προσηγγελμένοις· ἦν γὰρ ἐπικίνδυνον τὸ πεπονηκότας καὶ πάντων ἐνδεεῖς συνηγμένοις ἤδη τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ πάντων εὐποροῦσι συμβα-
6 λεῖν. ὑπολαβόντες δὲ προδοσίαν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ προακηκοότας τὸ μέλλον τοὺς πολεμίους ἠθροῖσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἐπ' εὐθείας προάγειν ἀπέγνωσαν, εἰς δεξιὰ

[1] διαστάντας Dindorf: διυστάντας.

promise and were trying to learn what in the world 317/16 B.C.
it would be that could prevent the enemy from advancing, he ordered all the commanders to follow him with their own soldiers bringing fire in many jars. He then selected a place in the higher ground that faced toward the desert and was well situated to be clearly visible from every direction and by setting up markers laid out a space with a perimeter of seventy stades.[1] Assigning an area to each of those who followed him, he ordered them at night to light fires about twenty cubits[2] apart and to keep the flames bright in the first watch as if men were still awake and busy with the care of their bodies and the preparation of food, but dimmer in the second watch, and in the third watch to leave only a very few, so that to those who watched from a distance it would seem to be a genuine camp. The soldiers carried out the directions. The flames were seen by some of those who pastured flocks on the hills opposite and who were friendly toward Pithon, the satrap of Media. Believing that this truly was a camp, they hurried down into the plain and carried the news to Antigonus and Pithon. These were astonished at this unexpected news and halted the march while they took counsel how they should use this information, for it was dangerous to lead an army that had been undergoing hardship and was in need of everything against hostile forces that were already assembled and were well provided with everything. Believing that there had been treachery and that the enemy had assembled because they knew in advance what was to happen, they gave up the plan of going straight forward and, turning to the right, went to

[1] About eight miles. [2] About thirty feet.

δὲ κλίναντες προῆγον ἐπ' ἀκέραια[1] μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης χώρας, βουλόμενοι τὴν δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς κακοπαθείας ἀναλαβεῖν.

39. Εὐμενὴς δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον καταστρατηγήσας τοὺς πολεμίους μετεπέμπετο πανταχόθεν τοὺς διερριμμένους τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ χειμάζοντας ἐν ταῖς κώμαις. βαλόμενος δὲ χάρακα καὶ τάφρῳ βαθείᾳ τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὀχυρώσας ὑπεδέχετο μὲν τοὺς ἀεὶ καταντῶντας τῶν συμμάχων, ἐπλήρωσε δὲ τὴν στρατοπεδείαν πάντων τῶν ἐπι-
2 τηδείων. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος διελθὼν τὴν ἔρημον καὶ πυθόμενος παρὰ τῶν ἐγχωρίων σχεδὸν τὴν μὲν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἅπασαν συνεληλυθέναι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ, τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας μέλλειν ἀναζευγνύειν ἐκ τῆς χειμασίας καὶ πλησίον εἶναι μεμονωμένους πάσης βοηθείας, ἀπέστειλεν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἱππεῖς λογχοφόρους μὲν Μήδους δισχιλίους, Ταραντίνους δὲ διακοσίους, τῶν δὲ πεζῶν τοὺς ψιλοὺς ἅπαντας·
3 ἤλπιζε γὰρ μεμονωμένοις τοῖς θηρίοις τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ποιησάμενος τούτων τε ῥᾳδίως κυριεύσειν καὶ τῶν πολεμίων παρελεῖσθαι τὸ κράτιστον μέρος τῆς δυνάμεως. ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς καταστοχασάμενος τὸ μέλλον ἀπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν ἱππεῖς μὲν τοὺς κρατίστους χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους, πεζοὺς
4 δὲ ψιλοὺς τρισχιλίους. ἐπιφανέντων δὲ πρότερον τῶν Ἀντιγόνου στρατιωτῶν οἱ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἡγεμόνες τάξαντες εἰς πλινθίον τὰ θηρία προῆγον, ἐν μέσῳ μὲν ἀπειληφότες τὰ σκευοφόρα, κατὰ δὲ τὴν οὐραγίαν ἔχοντες συναγωνιζομένους ἱππεῖς οὐ
5 πλείους τετρακοσίων. ἐπιπεσόντων δ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων παντὶ τῷ βάρει καὶ βιαιότερον ἐπικειμένων οἱ μὲν ἱππεῖς ἐτράπησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους

unplundered parts of the inhabited country, since 317/16 B.C.
they wished to refresh the army after its hardships.

39. When Eumenes had outgeneralled the enemy in the manner described, he called together from all sides those of his soldiers who had been widely scattered while wintering in the villages. After building a palisade as a protection and strengthening the encampment by a deep ditch, he received those of the allies who came down from time to time, and he filled the camp with all the necessary supplies. But Antigonus, having got across the desert, learned from the inhabitants that, although almost all the rest of Eumenes' army had assembled, the elephants were slow in leaving their winter quarters and were near at hand, cut off from all assistance. He sent cavalry against them—two thousand Median lancers and two hundred Tarentines—and all his light infantry, for he hoped that, by attacking the elephants when they were isolated, he could easily gain control of them and deprive the enemy of the strongest element in his army. Eumenes, however, guessing what was on foot, sent to the rescue fifteen hundred of the strongest cavalry and three thousand light infantry. Since the soldiers of Antigonus arrived first, the commanders of the elephants arranged them in a square and advanced, placing the baggage train in the centre and in the rear the cavalry that accompanied the elephants, consisting of a force of not more than four hundred men. As the enemy fell upon them with all its weight and pressed ever more heavily, the cavalry was routed, overwhelmed by

[1] ἐπ' ἀκέραια Fischer in apparatus: ἐφ' ἑκάτερα.

καταπονηθέντες, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐφεστηκότες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντεῖχον καὶ διεκαρτέρουν πανταχόθεν κατατιτρωσκόμενοι, βλάψαι δ' οὐδὲν
6 τοὺς πολεμίους δυνάμενοι, ἤδη δ' αὐτῶν καταπονουμένων ἀνελπίστως ἐπιφανέντες οἱ παρ' Εὐμενοῦς ἐξήρπασαν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων. μετὰ δ' ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἐν τεσσαράκοντα σταδίοις ἀντιστρατοπεδευουσῶν τῶν δυνάμεων ἐξέταξαν ἀμφότεροι τὸ στρατόπεδον εἰς μάχην, ὡς περὶ τῶν ὅλων κρίσεως ἐσομένης.

40. Ἀντίγονος μὲν οὖν τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἐπὶ τὰ κέρατα διελόμενος τὸ μὲν εὐώνυμον μέρος Πίθωνι παρέδωκε, τὸ δὲ δεξιὸν τῷ υἱῷ Δημητρίῳ, μεθ' οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς διαγωνίζεσθαι διεγνώκει· τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς εἰς μέσον καταστήσας προέταξε[1] παρ' ὅλην τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, πληρώσας[2] τὰ διαστήματα τοῖς ψιλικοῖς τάγμασιν. ὁ δὲ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἦν αὐτοῦ τῆς δυνάμεως πεζοὶ μὲν δισμύριοι δισχίλιοι, ἱππεῖς δ' ἐννακισχίλιοι σὺν τοῖς ἐκ Μηδίας προσκαταγραφεῖσι, θηρία δὲ ἑξήκοντα καὶ πέντε.

2 Ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς πυθόμενος τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρατος τετάχθαι μετὰ τῶν ἀρίστων ἱππέων, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀντετάξατο, ἐπὶ τὸ λαιὸν κέρας ἐπιστήσας τοὺς ἀρίστους· καὶ γὰρ τῶν σατραπῶν τοὺς πλείστους ἐνταῦθα κατέστησεν μετὰ τῶν συναγωνιζομένων αὐτοῖς ἱππέων ἐπιλέκτων καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τούτων ἔμελλε κινδυνεύειν· συνῆν δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Ἀριοβαρζάνου μὲν υἱός, ἀπόγονος δ' ἑνὸς τῶν ἑπτὰ Περσῶν τῶν συγκαθελόντων τὸν

[1] *προέταξε* Wesseling, cp. chap. 28. 4: *παρέταξε*.

numbers; but those who were in charge of the elephants resisted at first and held firm even though they were receiving wounds from all directions and were not able to injure the enemy in return in any way; and then, when they were now becoming exhausted, the troops sent by Eumenes suddenly appeared and rescued them from their danger. A few days later, when the armies were encamped opposite each other at a distance of forty stades,[1] each general drew up his army for battle, expecting to decide the issue. 317/16 B.C.

40. Antigonus placed his cavalry on the wings, giving the command of the left to Pithon and that of the right to his own son Demetrius, beside whom he himself planned to fight. He stationed the foot soldiers in the centre and extended the elephants across the whole front, filling the spaces between them with light armed troops. The total number of his army was twenty-two thousand foot, nine thousand horse including the additional troops enlisted in Media, and sixty-five elephants.

When Eumenes learned that Antigonus had taken his place on the right with his best cavalry, he drew up his army against him, stationing his best troops on the left wing. In fact, he placed there most of the satraps with the selected bodies of cavalry that accompanied them in battle, and he himself intended to take part in the fight along with them. There was also present with them Mithridates, the son of Ariobarzanes and a descendant of one of the seven Persians

[1] About four and a half miles. For the battle cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 16.

[2] *τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, πληρώσας* Rhodoman: *τὴν δύναμιν τοὺς δ' ἐλέφαντας πληρώσαντες*.

μάγον Σμέρδιν, ἀνὴρ ἀνδρείᾳ διαφέρων καὶ τεθραμ-
3 μένος ἐκ παιδὸς στρατιωτικῶς. πρὸ δὲ τοῦ κέ-
ρατος παντὸς ἔταξεν ἐν ἐπικαμπίῳ τοὺς κρατίστους
τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἑξήκοντα καὶ τὰ διαστήματα τοῖς
ψιλοῖς διέλαβε τάγμασι. τῶν δὲ πεζῶν πρώτους
μὲν ἔταξε τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, εἶτα τοὺς ἀργυράσπι-
δας, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς
εἰς τὰ Μακεδονικὰ καθωπλισμένους, καὶ πρὸ τού-
4 των ἐλέφαντας καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν τοὺς ἱκανούς. ἐπὶ
δὲ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας τάξας τῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν
ἐλεφάντων τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους ἀπέδειξεν ἡγεμόνα
τῶν πάντων Φίλιππον· τούτῳ δὲ διεκελεύσατο
φυγομαχεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ θατέρου μέρους κρίσιν ἀπο-
θεωρεῖν. οἱ δὲ σύμπαντες ἦσαν μετ' Εὐμενοῦς
κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν πεζοὶ μὲν τρισμύριοι
ἑξακισχίλιοι ἑπτακόσιοι, ἱππεῖς δὲ ἑξακισχίλιοι,
ἐλέφαντες δὲ ἑκατὸν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

41. Μικρὸν δὲ πρὸ τῆς παρατάξεως Ἀντιγένης ὁ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων στρατηγὸς ἔπεμψεν ἕνα τῶν Μακεδόνων ἱππέων ἐπὶ τὴν φάλαγγα τῶν ἐναντίων, προστάξας πλησίον παραγενόμενον ἀναβοῆσαι. οὗτος δὲ προσιππεύσας μόνος εἰς φωνῆς ἀκοήν, καθ' ὃ μέρος ἡ φάλαγξ ἦν τῶν παρ' Ἀντιγόνου Μακεδόνων, ἀνεβόησεν "Ἐπὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἁμαρτάνετε,[1] ὦ κακαὶ κεφαλαί, τοὺς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου τὰ ὅλα κατειργασμένους;" οὓς μετ'

[1] Wesseling adds ἁμαρτάνετε after πατέρας from Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 16. 4.

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[1] Shortly before the death of Cambyses in 522 B.C., the Persian throne was usurped by a certain Magian who claimed to be Bardiya or Smerdis, a brother of Cambyses, whom the latter had slain before the Egyptian campaign. After

who slew the Magian Smerdis,[1] a man remarkable for courage and trained from childhood as a soldier. In front of the whole wing he drew up in a curved line the sixty strongest of the elephants and screened the intervals with light troops. Of the foot soldiers he placed first[2] the hypaspists, then the Silver Shields, and finally the mercenaries and those of the other soldiers who were armed in the Macedonian fashion. In front of the infantry he stationed elephants and an adequate force of his light troops. On the right wing he drew up the weaker of the cavalry and of the elephants, putting all of them under the command of Philip, whom he ordered to avoid battle and to observe the outcome on the other wing. In all there were in Eumenes' army at this time thirty-six thousand seven hundred foot soldiers, six thousand horsemen and one hundred and fourteen elephants. 317/16 B.C.

41. A short time before the battle Antigenes, the general of the Silver Shields, sent one of the Macedonian horsemen toward the hostile phalanx, ordering him to draw near to it and make proclamation.[3] This man, riding up alone to within earshot opposite the place where the phalanx of Antigonus' Macedonians was stationed, shouted: "Wicked men, are you sinning against your fathers, who conquered the whole world under Philip and Alexander?" and added that in a little while they would see that these

Cambyses' death the pretender was slain by seven Persians, of whom Darius was one. The romantic account in Herodotus (3. 67 ff.) needs to be corrected by the Behistun Inscription (cp. G. B. Gray in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 4. 173-177).

[2] That is, nearest the left wing. For the hypaspists cp. note on chap. 28. 1.

[3] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 16. 4.

ὀλίγον ὄψονται καὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῶν προ-
2 γεγονότων ἀγώνων ἀξίους. καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανον κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων οἱ νεώτατοι μὲν περὶ τὰ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη, τῶν δ' ἄλλων οἱ πλείους μὲν περὶ τὰ ἑβδομήκοντα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ πρεσβύτεροι, πάντες δὲ ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις καὶ ταῖς ῥώμαις ἀνυπόστατοι· τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτοὺς ἦν εὐχειρία καὶ τόλμα διὰ τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν κινδύνων.
3 γενομένου δὲ τοῦ κηρύγματος καθότι προείρηται, παρὰ μὲν τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐγίνοντο φωναὶ δυσχερεῖς, ὅτι συναναγκάζοιντο πρὸς συγγενεῖς καὶ πρεσβυτέρους διαμάχεσθαι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς μετ' Εὐμενοῦς παρατασσομένοις παρακελευσμὸς καὶ βοὴ τὴν ταχίστην ἄγειν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους. ὧν Εὐμενὴς ὁρῶν τὴν προθυμίαν ἦρεν τὸ σύσσημον, δι' οὗ[1] παρεστήσατο τοὺς μὲν σαλπιγκτὰς τὸ πολεμικὸν σημαίνειν, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν ἀλαλάξαι πᾶσαν.

42. Συνῆψε δὲ μάχην πρῶτον μὲν τὰ θηρία, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος. τοῦ δὲ πεδίου πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἔχοντος καὶ παντὸς ὑπάρχοντος ἀργοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ διήκουσαν ἁλμυρίδα τοσοῦτον συνέβη ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἐξαίρεσθαι κονιορτὸν ὥστε μηδένα δύνασθαι ῥᾳδίως συνορᾶν ἐξ
2 ὀλίγου διαστήματος τὸ γινόμενον. ὃ δὴ κατανοήσας Ἀντίγονος ἀπέστειλε τοὺς ἐκ Μηδίας ἱππεῖς καὶ τῶν Ταραντίνων τοὺς ἱκανοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀποσκευὴν τῶν πολεμίων· ἤλπιζε γάρ, ὅπερ ἦν ἀληθές, διὰ μὲν τὸν κονιορτὸν λήσεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς ἀποσκευῆς ἀκονητὶ κρατήσειν[2] τῶν πολεμίων.
3 οἱ δὲ πεμφθέντες περιιππεύσαντες τὸ κέρας τῶν

[1] οὗ Wesseling, approved by Fischer in apparatus: ὧν MSS., Fischer.

veterans were worthy both of the kings and of their 317/16 B.C.
own past battles. At this time the youngest of the Silver Shields were about sixty years old, most of the others about seventy, and some even older; but all of them were irresistible because of experience and strength, such was the skill and daring acquired through the unbroken series of their battles. When this proclamation had been delivered as we have said, there arose from the soldiers of Antigonus angry cries to the effect that they were being forced to fight against their kinsfolk and their elders, but from the ranks of Eumenes there came a cheer and a demand that he lead them against the enemy as soon as possible. When Eumenes saw their enthusiasm, he gave the sign by which he directed the trumpeters to sound the signal for combat and the whole army to raise the battle cry.

42. The first to join in battle were the elephants, and after them the main body of the cavalry. Since the plain was of great extent and entirely uncultivated because of the salt that permeated it, such a cloud of dust was raised by the cavalry that from a little distance one could not easily see what was happening. When Antigonus perceived this, he dispatched the Median cavalry and an adequate force of Tarentines against the baggage of the enemy; for he hoped, as indeed happened, that this manœuvre might not be discovered because of the dust, and that by the capture of the baggage he might prevail over the enemy without labour. The detachment rode around the flank of their opponents and without being

[2] κρατήσειν Dindorf: κρατῆσαι MSS., Fischer.

ἐναντίων καὶ λαθόντες ἐπέθεντο τοῖς σκευοφόροις,
ἀπέχουσι τῆς μάχης ὡς πέντε σταδίους· εὑρόντες
δ᾿ αὐτὴν πλήρη μὲν ὄχλου πρὸς μάχην ἀχρήστου,
τοὺς δ᾿ ἀμυνομένους ὀλίγους ταχὺ τοὺς ἀντιστάν-
τας τρεψάμενοι τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἐκυρίευσαν.
4 ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ἀντίγονος μὲν συν-
άψας μάχην τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις καὶ μετὰ πλή-
θους ἱππέων ἐπιφανεὶς κατεπλήξατο Πευκέστην
τὸν τῆς Περσίδος σατράπην, ὃς μετὰ τῶν περὶ
ἑαυτὸν ἱππέων ἔξω τοῦ κονιορτοῦ διδοὺς ἑαυτὸν
συνεπεσπάσατο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἰς χιλίους πεντα-
5 κοσίους. Εὐμενὴς δὲ μετ᾿ ὀλίγων ἀπολειφθεὶς ἐπ᾿
ἄκρου τοῦ κέρατος τὸ μὲν εἶξαι τῇ τύχῃ καὶ φυγεῖν
αἰσχρὸν διέλαβεν, τὸ δὲ τηροῦντα τὴν δεδομένην
ὑπὸ τῶν βασιλέων πίστιν γενναίᾳ προαιρέσει συν-
αποθανεῖν προκρίνας ἐπ᾿ αὐτὸν ἐώσατο τὸν Ἀντί-
6 γονον. γενομένης δ᾿ ἱππομαχίας καρτερᾶς καὶ τῶν
μὲν μετ᾿ Εὐμενοῦς ταῖς προθυμίαις προεχόντων,
τῶν δὲ μετ᾿ Ἀντιγόνου τῷ πλήθει περιγινομένων
πολλοὶ παρ᾿ ἀμφοτέρων ἔπιπτον· ὅτε δὴ συνέβη
καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγωνιζομένων
πεσεῖν τῶν Εὐμενοῦς τὸν προηγούμενον, συμπλα-
7 κέντα τῷ κρατίστῳ τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων. διόπερ
Εὐμενὴς ὁρῶν τοὺς μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ πανταχόθεν ἐλαττου-
μένους ἐξῆγεν ἐκ τῆς μάχης τοὺς ὑπολελειμμένους
ἱππεῖς καὶ παρελθὼν ἐπὶ θάτερον κέρας ἀνελάμβανε
τοὺς μετὰ Φιλίππου τεταγμένους οἷς ἦν παρηγγελ-
κὼς φυγομαχεῖν. ἡ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱππέων μάχη
τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

43. Τῶν δὲ πεζῶν οἱ μὲν ἀργυράσπιδες συμφρά-
ξαντες καὶ βιαιότερον τοῖς ἀντιτεταγμένοις ἐπι-
πεσόντες τοὺς μὲν ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ διέφθειραν, τοὺς

noticed attacked the baggage train, which was about 317/16 B.C.
five stades[1] distant from the battle. They found that it was packed with a multitude of persons who were useless for fighting but had few defenders, and after quickly defeating those who resisted, they captured all the others. While this was taking place, Antigonus joined battle with those who were opposite him and by appearing with a large number of cavalry struck panic into Peucestes, satrap of Persia, who in retiring from the dust cloud with his own cavalry drew away fifteen hundred others as well. Eumenes, although he and a few troopers were left unsupported at the extremity of the wing, regarded it as shameful to yield to fortune and flee; preferring to die while still upholding with noble resolution the trust that had been given him by the kings, he forced his way toward Antigonus himself. A fierce cavalry battle ensued, in which Eumenes' men were superior in spirit but those of Antigonus had the advantage in number, and many were falling on both sides. It was at this time, while the elephants also were struggling against each other, that Eumenes' leading elephant fell after having been engaged with the strongest of those arrayed against it. Thereupon Eumenes, seeing that his forces were everywhere having the worst of it, led what remained of the cavalry out of the battle and went around to the other wing, where he assumed command of those troops whom he had assigned to Philip and had ordered to avoid fighting. This was the outcome of the cavalry engagement.

43. As for the infantry, the Silver Shields in close order fell heavily upon their adversaries, killing some of them in hand to hand fighting and forcing others to

[1] About 1000 yards.

δὲ συνηνάγκασαν φυγεῖν. ἀκατάσχετοι δὲ ταῖς ὁρμαῖς γενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς πᾶσαν τὴν τῶν ἐναντίων φάλαγγα διαγωνισάμενοι τοσοῦτον ταῖς εὐχειρίαις καὶ ῥώμαις ὑπερεῖχον ὥσθ' ἑαυτῶν μὲν ἀποβαλεῖν μηθένα, τῶν δ' ἐναντίων ἀνελεῖν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους, τρέψασθαι δὲ τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας,
2 ὄντας πολλαπλασίους. Εὐμενὴς δὲ πυθόμενος τὴν μὲν ἀποσκευὴν ἡλωκέναι, τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς τοὺς μετὰ Πευκέστου μὴ μακρὰν ἀπέχειν, ἐπεχείρησεν ἀθροίζειν ἅπαντας καὶ πάλιν ἱππομαχεῖν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον· ἤλπιζε γὰρ μάχῃ κρατήσας οὐ μόνον τὴν ἰδίαν ἀποσκευὴν σώσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν πολε-
3 μίων προσλήψεσθαι. τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν Πευκέστην οὐχ ὑπακουόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον πορρωτέρω τὴν ἀποχώρησιν ποιουμένων ἐπί τινα ποταμόν,[1] ἅμα δὲ καὶ νυκτὸς καταλαμβανούσης ἠναγκάσθη
4 συνεῖξαι[2] τῷ καιρῷ. Ἀντίγονος δὲ τοὺς ἱππεῖς εἰς δύο μέρη διελόμενος τοὺς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔχων ἐφήδρευε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ, τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτῶν ἀποθεωρῶν, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους παραδοὺς Πίθωνι προσέταξεν ἐπιθέσθαι τοῖς ἀργυράσπισι μεμονω-
5 μένοις τῆς τῶν ἱππέων βοηθείας. ταχὺ δ' αὐτοῦ τὸ προσταχθὲν συντελοῦντος οἱ Μακεδόνες εἰς πλινθίον ἑαυτοὺς ποιήσαντες ἀσφαλῶς ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Πευκέστην κατηγόρουν ὡς αἰτίων γεγενημένων τῆς τῶν ἱππέων ἥττης. καταντησάντων δὲ καὶ τῶν περὶ τὸν Εὐμενῆ περὶ λύχνων ἁφὰς συνελθόντες ἐβουλεύ-
6 οντο τί χρὴ πράττειν. οἱ μὲν οὖν σατράπαι τὴν ταχίστην ἔφησαν δεῖν ἀποχωρεῖν εἰς τὰς ἄνω σατραπείας, ὁ δ' Εὐμενὴς ἀπεφαίνετο μένειν καὶ διαγωνίζεσθαι, τῆς μὲν τῶν ἐναντίων φάλαγγος

flee. They were not to be checked in their charge 317/16 B.C.
and engaged the entire opposing phalanx, showing themselves so superior in skill and strength that of their own men they lost not one, but of those who opposed them they slew over five thousand and routed the entire force of foot soldiers, whose numbers were many times their own. When Eumenes learned that his baggage train was taken but that the cavalry force of Peucestes was not far away, he tried to collect all his mounted men and renew the cavalry battle against Antigonus; for he hoped, if superior in battle, not only to save his own baggage, but also to capture that of the enemy. Since Peucestes, however, would not listen to him but on the contrary retired still farther to a certain river, and since night was now coming on, Eumenes was forced to yield to the situation. Antigonus divided his cavalry into two bodies with one of which he himself lay in wait for Eumenes, watching for his first move; but the other he gave to Pithon and ordered him to attack the Silver Shields now that they had been cut off from their cavalry support. When Pithon promptly carried out his orders, the Macedonians formed themselves into a square and withdrew safely to the river, where they accused Peucestes of being responsible for the defeat of the mounted forces. After Eumenes joined them at about the time for lighting lamps, they took counsel together what should be done. The satraps, indeed, said that it was necessary to retire to the upper satrapies as rapidly as possible, but Eumenes declared that they should stay and fight it out, for the phalanx of the

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[1] ποταμόν Geer, cp. § 5, *infra*, λόφον Reiske : τόπον.
[2] ἠναγκάσθη συνεῖξαι Wesseling : ἠναγκάσθησαν εἶξαι.

συντετριμμένης, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἱππέων δυνάμεως 7 ἐφαμίλλου παρ' ἀμφοτέροις οὔσης. οἱ Μακεδόνες οὐδετέροις ἔφασαν ὑπακούσεσθαι, τῆς ἀποσκευῆς αὐτῶν ἡλωκυίας καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὄντων τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀναγκαίων 8 σωμάτων. τότε μὲν οὖν διελύθησαν οὐδεμίαν συμπεφωνημένην γνώμην βεβαιώσαντες· μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Μακεδόνες λάθρᾳ διαπρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον τὸν μὲν Εὐμενῆ συναρπάσαντες παρέδωκαν, τὰς δ' ἀποσκευὰς κομισάμενοι καὶ πίστεις 9 λαβόντες κατετάχθησαν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τὸ παραπλήσιον δ' οἵ τε σατράπαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμόνων τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι, τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐγκαταλιπόντες, τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας μόνον ἐφρόντισαν.

44. Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραδόξως κυριεύσας τοῦ τ' Εὐμενοῦς καὶ πάσης τῆς ἀντιτεταγμένης δυνάμεως Ἀντιγένην μὲν τὸν τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων ἡγούμενον συλλαβὼν καὶ καταθέμενος εἰς σειρὸν ζῶντα κατέκαυσεν, Εὔδαμον[1] δὲ τὸν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν καταγαγόντα τοὺς ἐλέφαντας καὶ Κελβανὸν[2] καί τινας ἄλλους τῶν ἀλλοτρίως ἀεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐχόντων ἀνεῖλεν. 2 Εὐμενῆ δὲ παραδοὺς εἰς φυλακὴν ἐβουλεύετο πῶς αὐτῷ χρηστέον εἴη. ἔσπευδε γὰρ ἔχειν μεθ' αὐτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ χάριτος ὑπόχρεων, οὐ λίαν δ' ἐπίστευεν αὐτοῦ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ὀλυμπιάδα καὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς φιλίαν· καὶ γὰρ

[1] Εὔδαμον, cp. chap. 14. 1: Εὔδημον.
[2] Κελβανὸν RX, Κέβαλον F, Wesseling, Κεβαλῖνον Dindorf.

[1] For Eumenes' betrayal and death cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 17-19; Justin, 14. 3-4. According to Plutarch (*Eumenes*, 16. 1), even before the battle most of Eumenes' generals had plotted to betray him as soon as his military genius had won them one more victory.

enemy had been shattered and the cavalry forces on 317/16 B.C. the two sides were equal. The Macedonians, however, refused to heed either party since their baggage had been taken, and their children, their wives, and many other relatives were in the hands of the enemy. The meeting accordingly broke up without having adopted any generally approved plan, whereupon the Macedonians secretly entered into negotiations with Antigonus, seized and surrendered Eumenes, recovered their baggage, and after receiving pledges were enrolled in Antigonus' army. In the same way the satraps and most of the other commanders and soldiers deserted their general, thinking only of their own safety.[1]

44. Now that Antigonus had unexpectedly mastered Eumenes and all the army that had been opposing him, he seized Antigenes, the commander of the Silver Shields, put him into a pit, and burned him alive. He slew Eudamus, who had brought the elephants from India, and Celbanus,[2] as well as certain others of those who had always been hostile to him. Putting Eumenes under guard, he considered how best to dispose of him. He wished, indeed, to have at his side a man who was a good general and who would be under obligations to him, but he had little faith in Eumenes' promises because of the latter's loyalty to Olympias and the kings; in fact,

[2] For Eudamus cp. chap. 14. 8. Celbanus (or Cebalus) is otherwise unknown. There is no reason to identify him with the Cebalinus who disclosed the conspiracy of Dimnus (Book 17. 79. 2).

πρότερον σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ περὶ Νῶρα τῆς Φρυγίας οὐδὲν ἧττον τοῖς βασιλεῦσι προθυμότατα συνηγωνίσατο. ὁρῶν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Μακεδόνων ὁρμὴν ἀπαραίτητον οὖσαν πρὸς τὴν κατ' Εὐμενοῦς τιμωρίαν ἀνεῖλε τὸν ἄνδρα· διὰ δὲ τὴν προγεγενημένην φιλίαν καύσας τὸ σῶμα καὶ καταθέμενος εἰς ἀγγεῖον τὰ ὀστᾶ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπέ-
3 στειλεν. ἀνήχθη δ' ἐν τοῖς τραυματίαις αἰχμάλωτος καὶ ὁ τὰς ἱστορίας συνταξάμενος Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Καρδιανός, ὃς τὸν μὲν ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ὑπ' Εὐμενοῦς τιμώμενος διετέλεσεν, μετὰ δὲ τὸν ἐκείνου θάνατον ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου ἐτύγχανε φιλανθρωπίας καὶ πίστεως.

4 Ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν ἀναλαβὼν εἰς Μηδίαν αὐτὸς μὲν ἔν τινι κώμῃ παρεχείμασεν οὔσῃ πλησίον Ἐκβατάνων, ἐν ᾗ τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ἐστὶ τὰ βασίλεια, τοὺς δὲ στρατιώτας ἐπιδιεῖλεν εἰς ἅπασαν τὴν σατραπείαν καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τὴν ἐπαρχίαν τὴν προσαγορευομένην Ῥάγας, ᾗ ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔσχεν ἀπὸ τῶν γενομένων περὶ αὐτὴν ἀτυχημάτων ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις·
5 πλείστας γὰρ ἔχουσα πόλεις τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις καὶ μάλιστ' εὐδαιμονούσας τηλικούτους ἔσχε σεισμοὺς ὥστε καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἅπαντας ἀφανισθῆναι, καθόλου δὲ τὴν χώραν ἀλλοιωθῆναι καὶ ποταμοὺς ἀντὶ τῶν προϋπαρχόντων ἄλλους φανῆναι καὶ λίμνας.

45. Κατὰ δὲ τούτους τοὺς χρόνους συνέβη γενέσθαι περὶ τὴν Ῥοδίων πόλιν τὸν τρίτον κατακλυσ-

[1] Cp. Book 18. 53. 5, 58. 4.
[2] For Hieronymus cp. Introduction to this volume.
[3] The rest of the winter of 317/16.

on the previous occasion, after Eumenes had been 17/16 B.C.
spared by Antigonus at Nora in Phrygia, he had none the less supported the kings most whole-heartedly.[1] When Antigonus saw also that the ardent desire of the Macedonians for the punishment of Eumenes was not to be turned aside, he put him to death; but because of his former friendship for him, he burned his body, and after placing his bones in an urn, he sent them to his relatives. Among the wounded there was also brought in as a captive the historian Hieronymus of Cardia,[2] who hitherto always had been held in honour by Eumenes, but after Eumenes' death enjoyed the favour and confidence of Antigonus.

After Antigonus had taken his entire army into Media, he himself spent the winter[3] in a village that is near Ecbatana, where the capital of this country is situated, but he distributed the soldiers throughout the entire satrapy and particularly in the eparchy called Rhagae, which had received this name from a catastrophe that had occurred there in former times.[4] Of all the lands in that part of the world, its cities had been the most numerous and the most prosperous, but it had experienced so violent an earthquake that both the cities and all their inhabitants vanished, and, in general, the land was altered and new rivers and marshy lakes appeared in place of the former ones.[5]

45. At this time occurred the third inundation of the city of Rhodes, which destroyed many of its

[4] This etymology (Rhagae, "breaks" or "clefts"), given also by Duris (Strabo, 1. 3. 19) and Posidonius (Strabo, 11. 9. 1), is false, but the catastrophe may be a fact since this region suffered severe earthquakes at a later date.
[5] Continued in chap. 46. 1. The winter is that of 317/16 B.C.

μόν, ὃς πολλοὺς τῶν ἐνοικούντων διέφθειρεν. ὧν
ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ὀλίγα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐνώχλησεν, ὡς
ἂν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης νεοκτίστου καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
2 πολλὴν εὐρυχωρίαν ἐχούσης, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος μεί-
ζων ἐγένετο καὶ πλείω σώματα διέφθειρεν. ὁ δὲ
τελευταῖος ἐπέπεσε μὲν ἔαρος ἀρχομένου, καταρ-
ραγέντων ἐξαίφνης μεγάλων ὄμβρων καὶ χαλάζης
ἀπίστου τὸ μέγεθος· μνααῖαι γὰρ ἔπιπτον, ἔστι δ᾽
ὅτε καὶ μείζους, ὥστε πολλὰς μὲν τῶν οἰκιῶν συμ-
πίπτειν διὰ τὸ βάρος, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν
3 ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλλυσθαι· θεατροειδοῦς δ᾽ οὔσης τῆς
Ῥόδου καὶ τὰς ἐγκλίσεις τῶν ὑδάτων κατὰ τὸ πλεῖ-
στον εἰς ἕνα τόπον ποιουμένης εὐθὺς τὰ ταπεινὰ τῆς
πόλεως ἐπληροῦτο, τῶν μὲν ὀχετῶν διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν
παρεληλυθέναι τὸν χειμῶνα κατημελημένων, τῶν δ᾽
4 ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν ὀβελίσκων συμφραχθέντων. τοῦ δ᾽
ὕδατος παραδόξως ἀθροιζομένου πᾶς μὲν ὁ περὶ τὸ
δεῖγμα καὶ Διονύσιον τόπος ἐπεπλήρωτο, πρὸς δὲ
τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἤδη τοῦ λιμνάζοντος τόπου προσ-
ιόντος ἐκπλαγεῖς μὲν ἦσαν ἅπαντες, πρὸς δὲ τὴν
5 σωτηρίαν διαφόροις ἐχρῶντο κρίσεσιν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ πλοῖα συνέφυγον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον
ἀνέδραμον, τινὲς δὲ τῶν περικαταλαμβανομένων
ὑπὸ τοῦ δεινοῦ διαποροῦντες ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑψηλοτάτους
βωμοὺς καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀνδριάντων βάσεις προσαν-
6 έβησαν. κινδυνευούσης δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἄρδην μετὰ
τῶν κατοικούντων ἀπολέσθαι βοήθειά τις αὐτό-
ματος ἐγένετο· τοῦ γὰρ τείχους ῥαγέντος ἐπὶ πολὺν
τόπον ἐξέπεσε ταύτῃ τὸ συνεστηκὸς ὕδωρ εἰς τὴν
θάλασσαν καὶ ταχὺ πάλιν ἕκαστος εἰς τὴν προ-
7 ϋπάρχουσαν τάξιν ἀποκατέστη. συνήργησε δὲ τοῖς
κινδυνεύουσι καὶ τὸ μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν γενέσθαι τὸν κατα-

inhabitants. Of these floods, the first did little 316 B.C.
damage to the population since the city was newly founded and therefore contained much open space; the second was greater and caused the death of more persons. The last befell at the beginning of spring, great rain storms suddenly bursting forth with hail of incredible size. Indeed, hail-stones fell weighing a mina[1] and sometimes more, so that many of the houses collapsed because of the weight, and no small number of the inhabitants were killed. Since Rhodes is shaped like a theatre and since the streams of water were thus deflected chiefly into a single region, the lower parts of the city were straightway flooded; for, because it was thought that the rainy season of winter had passed, the drains had been neglected and the drainage openings through the city walls had become clogged. The water that suddenly gathered filled the whole region about the Market and the Temple of Dionysus; and then, as the flood was already advancing to the Temple of Asclepius, all were struck with fear and began to follow various plans for gaining safety. Some of them fled to the ships, others ran to the theatre; certain of those overtaken by the calamity in their extremity climbed upon the highest altars and the bases of statues. When the city and all its inhabitants were in danger of being utterly destroyed, relief of a sort came of itself; for, as the walls gave way over a long stretch, the water that had been confined poured out through this opening into the sea, and each man soon returned again to his former place. It was to the advantage of those who were endangered that the flood came by day, for

[1] About one pound, but standards varied from city to city.

κλυσμόν· οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι φθάσαντες ἐξεπήδησαν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς τοὺς μετεώρους τόπους τῆς πόλεως· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὸ μὴ πλινθίνας εἶναι τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ λιθίνας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ
8 στέγη καταφυγόντας ἀσφαλῶς διασωθῆναι. ὅμως δὲ τηλικούτων ἀτυχημάτων γενομένων σώματα μὲν διεφθάρη πλείω τῶν πεντακοσίων, οἰκίαι δὲ αἱ μὲν τελέως ἔπεσον, αἱ δὲ διεσείσθησαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Ῥόδον συμβάντα τοιοῦτον ἔσχε τὸν κίνδυνον.

46. Ἀντίγονος δὲ χειμάζων ἐν τῇ Μηδίᾳ καὶ πυθόμενος Πίθωνα πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ χειμασίᾳ στρατιωτῶν ἐπαγγελίαις καὶ δωρεαῖς ἰδίους κατασκευάζειν καὶ διανοεῖσθαι νεωτερίζειν, τὴν μὲν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ἐπεκρύψατο, προσποιηθεὶς δὲ ἀπιστεῖν τοῖς διαβάλλουσι, τούτοις μὲν πολλῶν ἀκουόντων ἐπετίμησεν ὡς διιστάνουσι τὴν φιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐκτὸς διέδωκε λόγον ὅτι μέλλει καταλιπεῖν τῶν ἄνω σατραπειῶν στρατηγὸν Πίθωνα καὶ δύνα-
2 μιν ἱκανὴν τὴν παρέξουσαν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολήν, ἀξιῶν ἥκειν τὴν ταχίστην, ὅπως κατὰ πρόσωπον περὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων κοινολογησάμενος ταχέως τὴν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν κατάβασιν ποιήσηται. ταῦτα δ' ἐμηχανήσατο σπεύδων τῆς μὲν ἀληθοῦς ὑποψίας αὐτὸν ἀποστῆσαι, πεῖσαι δ' ὡς σατράπην καταλειφθησόμενον ἐλθεῖν εἰς χεῖρας· μετὰ βίας γὰρ συλλαβεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἦν ἄνδρα καὶ παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προαγωγῆς δι' ἀρετὴν τετευχότα καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν σατράπην μὲν ὄντα τῆς Μηδίας, πεπολιτευμένον δὲ
3 πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ στρατόπεδον. ὁ δὲ Πίθων ἐτύγχανε μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἐσχάτοις μέρεσι τῆς Μηδίας χειμάζων

most of the people escaped in time from their houses 316 B.C.
to the higher parts of the city; and also that the houses were not constructed of sun-dried brick but of stone and that for this reason those who took refuge upon the roofs were safe. Yet in this great disaster more than five hundred persons lost their lives, while some houses collapsed completely and others were badly shaken.

Such was the disaster which befell Rhodes.

46. When Antigonus,[1] who was wintering in Media, was informed that Pithon[2] was winning the support of many of the soldiers in the winter quarters by promises and gifts and that he planned to revolt, he concealed his own intentions and, pretending not to believe those who were spreading the charges, he rebuked them, in the hearing of many, for trying to disrupt his friendship, and caused a report to be spread abroad that he was about to leave Pithon as general of the upper satrapies with an army sufficient for their safety. He even wrote to Pithon himself a letter asking him to come as soon as possible, so that he might discuss the necessary matters with him in person and then quickly make his journey to the sea. He devised this plan because he wished to prevent Pithon from suspecting the truth and to persuade him to come within reach on the assumption that he was about to be left behind as satrap; for it was no easy matter to arrest a man by force who had gained preferment for merit while serving under Alexander and who at that very time was satrap of Media and had curried favour with the entire army. Pithon, who was wintering in the most distant parts of Media, had

[1] Continued from chap. 44. 5.
[2] For Pithon's character cp. Book 18. 7. 4.

καὶ πλῆθος ἤδη διεφθαρκὼς τῶν ἐπαγγελλομένων
συναποστήσεσθαι, γραφόντων δ' αὐτῷ τῶν φίλων
περὶ τῶν Ἀντιγόνου προαιρέσεων καὶ μεγάλας
ὑπογραφόντων ἐλπίδας ἐξαπατηθεὶς κεναῖς προσ-
4 δοκίαις ἧκε πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. ὁ δὲ κυριεύσας τοῦ
σώματος καὶ κατηγορίαν ποιησάμενος ἐν τοῖς
μετέχουσι τοῦ συνεδρίου ῥᾳδίως κατεδίκασε καὶ
5 παραχρῆμα ἀπέκτεινεν. συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸ στρα-
τόπεδον εἰς ἕνα τόπον σατράπην μὲν ἀπέδειξε τῆς
Μηδίας Ὀροντοβάτην Μῆδον, στρατηγὸν δὲ Ἱππό-
στρατον, ἔχοντα πεζοὺς μὲν ξένους τρισχιλίους πεν-
6 τακοσίους . . .[1] αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν
παρῆλθεν εἰς Ἐκβάτανα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ παραλαβὼν
ἀσήμου ἀργύρου τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια προῆγεν
ἐπὶ τῆς Περσίδος, οὔσης τῆς ἀναβάσεως ὡς ἂν
εἴκοσιν ἡμερῶν εἰς τὸ βασίλειον, ὃ καλεῖται Περσέ-
πολις.

47. Τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου καθ' ὁδὸν ὄντος οἱ τοῦ
Πίθωνος φίλοι καὶ μετεσχηκότες τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς,
ὧν ἦσαν ἐπιφανέστατοι Μελέαγρος καὶ Μενοίτας,
ἤθροισαν τοὺς πλανωμένους τῶν Εὐμενοῦς τε καὶ
2 Πίθωνος συνήθων, εἰς ὀκτακοσίους ἱππεῖς. καὶ
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τὴν χώραν ἐλεηλάτουν τῶν μὴ
βουλομένων συναφίστασθαι Μήδων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα
πυθόμενοι καταπεφρονηκότως[2] στρατοπεδεύειν τόν
τε Ἱππόστρατον καὶ τὸν Ὀροντοβάτην ἐπέθεντο
νυκτὸς τῇ παρεμβολῇ. καὶ παρ' ὀλίγον μὲν ἐκρά-
τησαν τῆς περιβολῆς,[3] ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πλήθους κατ-
ισχυόμενοι καί τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν πείσαντες

[1] So Fischer. Dindorf adds ἱππεῖς δὲ before πεντακοσίους.
[2] καταπεφρονηκότως added by Fischer, cp. chaps. 93. 2, 95. 5.

already corrupted a large number who promised to join him in the revolt, but when his friends wrote to him about the plans of Antigonus and hinted at his own great prospects, he was deceived by empty expectations and came to Antigonus. The latter, when he had gained possession of his person and had accused him before the members of the council, easily won a conviction and had him executed at once. Then, gathering the army into one place, he appointed Orontobates, a Mede, satrap of Media, but he made Hippostratus general with an infantry force of thirty-five hundred mercenaries. . . .[1] Antigonus himself moved to Ecbatana with his army. There he took possession of five thousand talents of uncoined silver and then led the army into Persia, the march to the capital, which is called Persepolis, lasting about twenty days. 316 B.C.

47. While Antigonus was on the march, Pithon's friends who had shared in his conspiracy, of whom the most notable were Meleager and Menoetas, collected the scattered comrades of Eumenes and of Pithon to the number of eight hundred mounted men. At first they harried the territory of those Medes who refused to join the revolt, but afterwards, on learning that Hippostratus and Orontobates were encamped with no thought of danger, they set upon the camp by night. They almost took the outer works, but were overcome by numbers and withdrew after

[1] Fischer suggests that some indication of the cavalry strength has been lost from the manuscripts at this point.

[3] περιβολῆς Capps: ἐπιβολῆς.

3 συναποστῆναι πάλιν ἀπεχώρησαν. εὔζωνοι δ' ὄντες καὶ πάντες ἵπποις χρώμενοι τάς τε καταδρομὰς ἀπροσδοκήτους ἐποιοῦντο καὶ τὴν χώραν ταραχῆς ἐπλήρωσαν. μετὰ δέ τινα χρόνον συγκλεισθέντες εἴς τινα τόπον κρημνοῖς περιεχόμενον οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν
4 ἀνῃρέθησαν, οἱ δ' ἐζωγρήθησαν. τῶν δὲ ἡγεμόνων Μελέαγρος καὶ Ὀκράνης ὁ Μῆδος καί τινες τῶν ἀξιολόγων ἀνδρῶν ὑποστάντες ἀνῃρέθησαν.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοὺς ἀποστάντας ἐν Μηδίᾳ τοιαύτην ἔσχε τὴν κατάστασιν.

48. Ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα, τιμῆς μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἠξιώθη βασιλικῆς ὡς ἂν κύριος ὢν ὁμολογουμένως τῆς Ἀσίας, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν φίλων συνεδρεύσας ἐβουλεύετο περὶ τῶν σατραπειῶν. τὴν μὲν οὖν Καρμανίαν εἴασεν ἔχειν Τληπόλεμον καὶ τὴν Βακτριανὴν ὁμοίως Στασάνορα· οὐ γὰρ ῥᾴδιον ἦν τούτους δι' ἐπιστολῆς ἐκβαλεῖν, εὖ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους πεπολιτευμένους καὶ πολλοὺς ἔχοντας
2 συναγωνιστάς. εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἀρίαν ἀπέστειλεν Εὔιτον· τελευτήσαντος δὲ μετ' ὀλίγον χρόνον ἀντικατέστησεν Εὐαγόραν, ἄνδρα καὶ[1] κατ' ἀνδρείαν καὶ σύνεσιν θαυμαζόμενον. Ὀξυάρτην δὲ τὸν Ῥωξάνης πατέρα τὴν ἐν Παροπανισάδαις σατραπείαν εἴασεν ἔχειν, καθὰ καὶ πρότερον εἶχεν· οὐδὲ[2] γὰρ τοῦτον ἦν ἐκβαλεῖν δυνατὸν ἄνευ χρόνου πολλοῦ καὶ δυνάμεως ἁδρᾶς.
3 Μετεπέμψατο δὲ καὶ Σιβύρτιον ἐξ Ἀραχωτῶν, εὖ διακείμενον τὰ πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ τήν τε σατραπείαν ἔχειν συνεχώρησε καὶ τῶν ἀργυρασπίδων

[1] καὶ deleted by Dindorf and Fischer.
[2] οὐδὲ Dindorf: οὔτε.

winning certain of the soldiers to join the revolt. 316 B.C. Since these[1] were without heavy equipment and were all mounted on horses, their raids were unexpected, and the country was filled with confusion. After some time, however, they were hemmed up in a narrow place that was surrounded by cliffs, where some of them were killed and the others were taken alive. Meleager and Ocranes the Mede, who were among the commanders, and some of the outstanding men were killed while resisting the attack.

This was the outcome of the revolt in Media.

48. As soon as Antigonus came into Persia, he was granted the dignity of kingship by the inhabitants as if he was the acknowledged lord of Asia, and he himself sitting in council with his friends considered the question of the satrapies.[2] He permitted Tlepolemus to retain Carmania, and likewise Stasanor to retain Bactrianê, for it was not easy to remove them by sending a message since they had conducted themselves well toward the inhabitants and had many supporters. He sent Evitus to Aria,[3] but when Evitus died soon afterwards he put Evagoras in his place, a man admired for both courage and shrewdness. He permitted Oxyartes, the father of Roxanê, to keep the satrapy in Paropanisadae as before, for he too could not be removed without a long campaign and a strong army.

From Arachosia he summoned Sibyrtius, who was well disposed to him, permitted him to retain the satrapy, and assigned to him the most turbulent of

[1] *i.e.* Meleager and Menoetas and their followers.
[2] Cp. Book 18. 39. 5-7 for the previous distribution.
[3] Stasander, to whom Aria and Drangenê had been assigned by Antipater (Book 18. 39. 6), had supported Eumenes (chap. 14. 7).

συνέστησε τοὺς ταραχωδεστάτους, τῷ μὲν λόγῳ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ πρὸς ἀπώλειαν· κατ' ἰδίαν γὰρ ἐνετείλατο κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτῶν εἰς τοιαύτας χρείας ἀποστέλλειν ἐν αἷς[1]
4 ἔμελλον ἀπολεῖσθαι. ἐν δὲ τούτοις εἶναι συνέβαινε καὶ τοὺς Εὐμενῆ παραδόντας, ὥστε τῶν εἰς τὸν στρατηγὸν παρανομημάτων συντόμως αὐτοῖς ἐπιστῆναι τιμωρίαν· αἱ γὰρ ἀσεβεῖς χρεῖαι τοῖς μὲν δυνάσταις διὰ τὴν ἐξουσίαν γίνονται λυσιτελεῖς, τοῖς δ' ὑπακούσασιν ἰδιώταις μεγάλων κακῶν ὡς ἐπίπαν αἴτιαι καθίστανται.

5 Ὁ δ' οὖν Ἀντίγονος ὁρῶν τὸν Πευκέστην παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις μεγάλης ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνοντα τὸ μὲν πρῶτον παρείλετο τὴν σατραπείαν αὐτοῦ. τῶν δὲ ἐγχωρίων ἀγανακτούντων, ἑνὸς δὲ τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Θεσπίου καὶ παρρησίαν ἀγαγόντος ὡς οὐχ ὑπακουσομένων Περσῶν ἑτέρῳ, τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέκτεινεν, Ἀσκληπιόδωρον δὲ κατέστησε τῆς Περσίδος ὕπαρχον καὶ τοὺς ἱκανοὺς στρατιώτας παρέδωκεν· Πευκέστην δ' εἰς ἄλλας ἐλπίδας ἀγαγὼν καὶ κενῶς μετεωρίσας ἐξήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας.
6 ποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν πορείαν ἐπὶ Σούσων ἀπήντησεν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ τῷ Πασιτίγρι ποταμῷ Ξενόφιλος ὁ κυριεύων τῶν ἐν Σούσοις χρημάτων, ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ Σελεύκου πᾶν ποιῆσαι[2] τὸ προστασσόμενον. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν προσδεξάμενος προσεποιεῖτο τιμᾶν ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν φίλων, εὐλαβούμενος μὴ μετανοήσας πάλιν αὐτὸν ἀπο-
7 κλείσῃ· αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν τὴν ἐν Σούσοις ἄκραν

[1] αἷς editors: οἷς.
[2] πᾶν ποιῆσαι editors, ὡς πᾶν ποιήσων Capps: καὶ πᾶν ποιήσειν F, πᾶν ποιήσειν RX.

the Silver Shields, ostensibly that they might be useful in the war, but in reality to insure their destruction; for he privately directed the satrap to send a few of them at a time on duties in which they were bound to be killed.[1] Among them there were, as it happened, those who had betrayed Eumenes, so that punishment for their treachery to their general came upon them speedily. Unholy acts, in truth, are of advantage to princes because of their power, but to private individuals who have merely obeyed orders they are usually the cause of great evil. 316 B.C.

Now Antigonus, perceiving that Peucestes was enjoying great favour among the Persians, first took his satrapy away from him. Then when the Persians were angry, and when Thespius, one of their leading men, even said frankly that the Persians would not obey anyone else, Antigonus had this man killed and set up Asclepiodorus as ruler of Persia, giving him a sufficient number of soldiers. As for Peucestes, Antigonus, after leading him on to hope for other things and filling him with vain expectations, removed him from the country.[2] While Antigonus himself was journeying to Susa, he was met at the Pasitigris River by Xenophilus, the supervisor of the treasury at Susa, who had been sent by Seleucus with orders to carry out Antigonus' every command. Antigonus received him and pretended to honour him among his closest friends, taking care lest he change his mind and shut him out again.[3] When he himself had occupied the

[1] Cp. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 19. 2.
[2] Peucestes never again played an important rôle, but he seems to have outlived Antigonus and to have retained, or regained, the favour of Demetrius (Phylarchus, *FGrH*, 81. 12).
[3] Cp. chaps. 17. 3, 18. 1.

κατέλαβεν ἐν αὐτῇ τήν τε χρυσῆν ἀναδενδράδα καὶ πλῆθος ἄλλων κατασκευασμάτων, τῶν[1] πάντων συναγομένων εἰς μύρια καὶ πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα. ἠθροίσθη δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο πλῆθος χρη-
8 μάτων ἔκ τε τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δωρεῶν, ἔτι δὲ ἐκ τῶν λαφύρων· ταῦτα γὰρ ἦσαν πεντακισχίλια τάλαντα, καὶ κατὰ τὴν Μηδίαν ἄλλα τοσαῦτα χωρὶς τῶν ἐν Σούσοις θησαυρῶν, ὥστε τὰ πάντα συναχθῆναι τάλαντα δισμύρια πεντακισχίλια.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

49. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πραχθέντα μεταβιβάσομεν τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τὴν Εὐρώπην καὶ τὰ συνεχῆ τῶν προειρημένων διέξιμεν. ὁ γὰρ Κάσανδρος εἰς Πύδναν τῆς Μακεδονίας συγκεκλεικὼς Ὀλυμπιάδα προσβολὰς μὲν τοῖς τείχεσιν ἠδυνάτει ποιεῖσθαι διὰ τοὺς χειμῶνας, περιστρατοπεδεύσας δὲ τὴν πόλιν καὶ χάρακα βαλόμενος ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν, ἔτι δὲ ἐφορμῶν τῷ λιμένι πάντα τὸν[2] βουλόμενον
2 ἐπικουρῆσαι διεκώλυεν. ταχὺ δὲ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐξαναλωθέντων τοσαύτην περὶ τοὺς ἔνδον κατεσκεύασεν ἔνδειαν ὥστ' ἐκλυθῆναι τὸ παράπαν· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ἦλθον ἀνάγκης ὥστε τῷ μὲν στρατιώτῃ σιτομετρεῖν χοίνικας πέντε τοῦ μηνός, τοῖς δ' ἐλέφασι τοῖς κατακλεισθεῖσι διδόναι πρίοντας τὰς δοκούς, τὰ δ' ὑποζύγια καὶ τοὺς ἵππους κατακόψαι
3 πρὸς διατροφήν. τοιαύτης δὲ περιστάσεως κατεχούσης τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἔτι προσανεχούσης ταῖς ἔξωθεν ἐλπίσιν οἱ μὲν ἐλέφαντες

[1] τῶν added by Dindorf. [2] τὸν added by Dindorf.

[1] For the golden vine that stood with the golden plane tree

citadel of Susa, he found in it the golden climbing vine[1] and a great number of other objects of art, weighing all told fifteen thousand talents. There was collected for him, besides, a great amount of money from the crowns and the other gifts, and also from the spoils. This came to five thousand talents; and there was another equal amount in Media apart from the treasury in Susa, so that in all twenty-five thousand talents were gathered together. 316 B.C.

Such was the state of the affairs of Antigonus.[2]

49. Now that we have completed the account of events in Asia, we shall turn our attention to Europe and set forth what took place there following the events previously described.[3] Although Cassander had shut Olympias into Pydna in Macedonia, he was not able to assault the walls because of the winter storms, but by encamping about the city, throwing up a palisade from sea to sea, and blockading the port, he prevented any who might wish to aid the queen from doing so. And as the supplies were rapidly exhausted, he created such famine among those within that they were completely incapacitated. In truth, they were brought to such extreme need that they gave each soldier five choenices[4] of grain per month, sawed up wood and fed the sawdust to the imprisoned elephants, and slaughtered the pack animals and horses for food. While the situation of the city was so serious and while Olympias was still clinging to hopes of rescue from outside, the elephants

in the chamber of the Persian king cp. Herodotus, 7. 27; Athenaeus, 12. 514 f.

[2] Continued in chap. 55. 1.

[3] Continued from chap. 36. 6. For the siege of Pydna cp. Justin, 14. 6. 1-5.

[4] One choenix of grain was the normal daily ration in the Persian army (Herodotus, 7. 187; Diog. Laert. 8. 18).

ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας διεφθάρησαν, τῶν δ' ἱππέων οἱ μὲν ἔξω τάξεως ὄντες οὐ σιτομετρούμενοι τὸ παράπαν σχεδὸν ἅπαντες ἐτελεύτησαν, οὐκ ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς ὁμοίας καταστροφῆς
4 ἔτυχον. ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῆς φύσεως κατισχυούσης τὴν εὐλάβειαν, ἐσαρκοφάγουν ἀναλεγόμενοι τὰ σώματα τῶν ἀποθνησκόντων. ταχὺ δὲ τῆς πόλεως πληρουμένης νεκρῶν οἱ προεστηκότες τοῦ περὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν συστήματος τὰ μὲν κατώρυττον τῶν σωμάτων, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τειχῶν ἐξερρίπτουν, ὥστ' εἶναι καὶ τὴν θέαν τὴν τούτων ἀπεχθῆ καὶ τὴν δυσωδίαν ἀνυπομένητον μὴ μόνον γυναιξὶ βασιλίσσαις καὶ τρυφῆς οἰκείαις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοῖς εἰωθόσι κακοπαθεῖν.

50. Τοῦ δ' ἔαρος ἀρχομένου καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀεὶ μᾶλλον αὐξανομένης συνέδραμον πολλοὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παρεκάλουν αὑτοὺς ἀφεῖναι διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν. ἡ δὲ οὔτε σιτομετρεῖν αὐτοὺς δυναμένη τὸ παράπαν οὔτε τὴν πολιορκίαν
2 λῦσαι συνεχώρησεν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος προσδεξάμενος ἅπαντας τοὺς αὐτομολήσαντας καὶ φιλανθρώπως χρησάμενος διαπέστειλεν ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις· ἤλπιζε γὰρ παρὰ τούτων πυθομένους τοὺς Μακεδόνας τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀσθένειαν ἀπελπιεῖν
3 αὐτῆς τὰ πράγματα. οὐ κακῶς δ' αὐτοῦ στοχασαμένου περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος, οἱ μὲν συναγωνίζεσθαι διεγνωκότες τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις μετενόησαν καὶ πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἀπεχώρησαν, μόνοι δὲ τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ τὴν εὔνοιαν διεφύλαξαν Ἀριστόνους καὶ Μόνιμος, ὧν Ἀριστόνους μὲν Ἀμφιπόλεως ἐκυ-
4 ρίευεν, ὁ δ' ἕτερος Πέλλης. ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπιὰς ὁρῶσα

died from lack of nourishment, the horsemen that 316 B.C. were not in the ranks and did not receive any food whatever nearly all perished, and no small number of the soldiers also met the same fate. Some of the non-Greeks, their natural needs overcoming their scruples, found flesh to eat by collecting the bodies of the dead. Since the city was being quickly filled with corpses, those in charge of the queen's company,[1] though they buried some of the bodies, threw others over the city wall. The sight of these was horrible, and their stench was unbearable, not merely to ladies who were of the queen's court and addicted to luxury, but also to those of the soldiers who were habituated to hardship.

50. As spring came on and their want increased from day to day, many of the soldiers gathered together and appealed to Olympias to let them go because of the lack of supplies. Since she could neither issue any food at all nor break the siege, she permitted them to withdraw. Cassander, after welcoming all the deserters and treating them in most friendly fashion, sent them to the various cities; for he hoped that when the Macedonians learned from them how weak Olympias was, they would despair of her cause. And he was not mistaken in his surmise about what would happen: those who had resolved to fight on the side of the besieged forces changed their minds and went over to Cassander; and the only men in Macedonia to preserve their loyalty were Aristonoüs and Monimus, of whom Aristonoüs was ruler of Amphipolis and Monimus of Pella. But Olympias, when she saw that most of

[1] Cp. chap. 35. 7.

τοὺς μὲν πλείους μεταθεμένους πρὸς Κάσανδρον, τοὺς δ' ὑπολοίπους τῶν φίλων οὐκ ἰσχύοντας βοηθεῖν, ἐπεχείρησε πεντήρη ναῦν κατασπᾶν καὶ διὰ
5 ταύτης αὑτήν τε καὶ τοὺς φίλους σώζειν. αὐτομόλου δέ τινος τὸ γινόμενον ἀπαγγείλαντος τοῖς πολεμίοις ὁ μὲν Κάσανδρος ἐπιπλεύσας ἐκυρίευσε τοῦ σκάφους, ἡ δ' Ὀλυμπιὰς ἀπογνοῦσα τὰ καθ' αὑτὴν πρέσβεις ἐξέπεμψε περὶ διαλύσεων. οἰομένου δὲ δεῖν τοῦ Κασάνδρου τὰ καθ' αὑτὴν ἐπιτρέπειν μόγις ἔπεισεν ὥστε μόνην ἐξαίρετον λαβεῖν
6 τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσφάλειαν. Κάσανδρος δὲ κυριεύσας τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς παραληψο-
7 μένους τήν τε Πέλλαν καὶ τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν. ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς Πέλλης κυριεύων Μόνιμος ἀκούσας τὰ συμβάντα περὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα παρέδωκε τὴν πόλιν· ὁ δ' Ἀριστόνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων διεγνώκει, στρατιώτας τε συχνοὺς ἔχων καὶ προσφάτως εὐημερηκώς· ὀλίγαις γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν ἡμέραις παραταξάμενος πρὸς τὸν Κασάνδρου στρατηγὸν Κρατεύαν τοὺς πλείστους μὲν ἀνεῖλε τῶν ἀντιταχθέντων, αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν Κρατεύαν μετὰ δισχιλίων φυγόντα τῆς Βισαλτίας εἰς Βεδύνδια περιστρατοπεδεύσας ἐξεπολιόρκησε καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
8 παρελόμενος ὑπόσπονδον ἀφῆκε. διὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπαιρόμενος καὶ τὸν Εὐμενοῦς θάνατον ἀγνοῶν, ἔτι δὲ τοὺς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα νομίζων συνεπιλήψεσθαι τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν οὐκ ἔφη παραδώσειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν Ὀλυμπιὰς ἀπαιτοῦσα τὴν πίστιν καὶ κελεύουσα παραδοῦναι, διαλαβὼν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι τὸ προστασσόμενον ποιεῖν, τήν τε πόλιν ἐνεχείρισε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ περὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας ἔλαβεν.

her friends had gone over to Cassander and that 316 B.C.
those who remained were not strong enough to come to her aid, attempted to launch a quinquereme and by this means to save herself and her friends. When, however, a deserter brought news of this attempt to the enemy and Cassander sailed up and took the ship, Olympias, recognizing that her situation was beyond hope, sent envoys to treat of terms. When Cassander gave his opinion that she must put all her interests into his hands, she with difficulty persuaded him to grant the single exception that he guarantee her personal safety. As soon as he had gained possession of the city, he sent men to take over Pella and Amphipolis. Now Monimus, the ruler of Pella, on hearing the fate of Olympias, surrendered his city; but Aristonoüs at first was minded to cling to his position, since he had many soldiers and had recently enjoyed a success. That is, a few days before this in a battle against Cassander's general Cratevas he had killed most of those who faced him, and when Cratevas himself with two thousand men had fled to Bedyndia in Bisaltia,[1] he invested him, took him by siege, and dismissed him on terms after taking away his arms. Aristonoüs, encouraged by this and ignorant of the death of Eumenes, believing, moreover, that Alexander and Polyperchon would support him, refused to surrender Amphipolis. But when Olympias wrote to him demanding his loyalty and ordering him to surrender, he perceived that it was necessary to do as ordered and delivered the city to Cassander, receiving pledges for his own safety.

[1] Bisaltia lies just to the west of the lower Strymon. The exact situation of Bedyndia is unknown.

51. Ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος ὁρῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀριστόνουν
ὑπάρχον ἀξίωμα διὰ τὴν παρ' Ἀλεξάνδρου προ-
αγωγὴν καὶ σπεύδων ἐκ ποδῶν ποιεῖν τοὺς δυνα-
μένους νεωτερίζειν ἐπανεῖλε τὸν ἄνδρα διὰ τῶν
Κρατεύα συγγενῶν. προετρέψατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς οἰ-
κείους τῶν ἀνῃρημένων ὑπ' Ὀλυμπιάδος ἐν κοινῇ
τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκκλησίᾳ κατηγορεῖν τῆς προει-
2 ρημένης γυναικός. ὧν ποιησάντων τὸ προσταχθὲν
καὶ τῆς μὲν Ὀλυμπιάδος οὔτε παρούσης οὔτε
ἐχούσης τοὺς ἀπολογησομένους οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες
κατεγίνωσκον αὐτῆς θάνατον, ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος
πέμψας τινὰς τῶν φίλων πρὸς τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα
συνεβούλευε λάθρᾳ φυγεῖν, ἐπαγγελλόμενος αὐτῇ
ναῦν παρασκευάσειν καὶ διακομιεῖν εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας.
3 τοῦτο δ' ἔπραττεν οὐ τῆς σωτηρίας προνοούμενος,
ἀλλ' ἵνα καθ' αὑτῆς φυγὴν καταγνοῦσα καὶ διαφθα-
ρεῖσα κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν δόξῃ δικαίᾳ περιπεπτωκέναι
τιμωρίᾳ· εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ ἅμα καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν
4 ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ τῶν Μακεδόνων εὐμετάβολον. τῆς
δὲ Ὀλυμπιάδος οὐ φαμένης φεύξεσθαι, τοὐναντίον
δ' ἑτοίμης οὔσης ἐν πᾶσι Μακεδόσι κριθῆναι ὁ
Κάσανδρος φοβηθεὶς μήποτε τὸ πλῆθος ἀκοῦον τῆς
βασιλίσσης ἀπολογουμένης καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου
καὶ Φιλίππου πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ[1] ἔθνος εὐεργεσιῶν
ἀναμιμνησκόμενον μετανοήσῃ, διακοσίους τῶν
στρατιωτῶν τοὺς ἐπιτηδειοτάτους ἀπέστειλε πρὸς
5 αὐτήν, προστάξας ἀνελεῖν τὴν ταχίστην. οὗτοι
μὲν οὖν παρεισπεσόντες εἰς τὴν βασιλικὴν οἰκίαν,
ὡς ἴδον τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδα, καταιδεσθέντες τὸ περὶ
αὐτὴν ἀξίωμα πάλιν ἀπεχώρησαν ἄπρακτοι· οἱ δὲ

[1] τὸ added by Dindorf.

51. Cassander, seeing that Aristonoüs was respected 316 B.C.
because of the preferment he had received from Alexander,[1] and being anxious to put out of the way any who were able to lead a revolt, caused his death through the agency of the kinsfolk of Cratevas. He also urged the relatives of those whom Olympias had slain to accuse the aforesaid woman in the general assembly of the Macedonians. They did as he had ordered; and, although Olympias was not present and had none to speak in her defence, the Macedonians condemned her to death.[2] Cassander, however, sent some of his friends to Olympias advising her to escape secretly, promising to provide a ship for her and to carry her to Athens. He acted thus, not for the purpose of securing her safety, but in order that she, condemning herself to exile and meeting death on the voyage, might seem to have met a punishment that was deserved; for he was acting with caution both because of her rank and because of the fickleness of the Macedonians. As Olympias, however, refused to flee but on the contrary was ready to be judged before all the Macedonians, Cassander, fearing that the crowd might change its mind if it heard the queen defend herself and was reminded of all the benefits conferred on the entire nation by Alexander and Philip, sent to her two hundred soldiers who were best fitted for such a task, ordering them to slay her as soon as possible. They, accordingly, broke into the royal house, but when they beheld Olympias, overawed by her exalted rank, they withdrew with their task unfulfilled. But the relatives of her vic-

[1] He had been one of the officers of the Bodyguard (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 28. 4).

[2] For the death of Olympias cp. Justin, 14. 6. 6-12, Pausanias, 9. 7. 2. Her death took place in the spring of 316.

τῶν ἀνῃρημένων συγγενεῖς, Κασάνδρῳ τε χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἀμῦναι, κατέσφαξαν τὴν βασίλισσαν, οὐδεμίαν ἀγεννῆ καὶ γυναικείαν προεμένην ἀξίωσιν.

6 Ὀλυμπιὰς μὲν οὖν, μέγιστον τῶν καθ' αὑτὴν ἐσχηκυῖα ἀξίωμα καὶ γεγενημένη θυγάτηρ μὲν Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἠπειρωτῶν, ἀδελφὴ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ στρατεύσαντος εἰς Ἰταλίαν, ἔτι δὲ γυνὴ μὲν Φιλίππου τοῦ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντος τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστευσάντων, μήτηρ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα κατεργασαμένου τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε.

52. Κάσανδρος δέ, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωρούντων, περιελάμβανε ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. διὸ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἔγημε, τὴν Φιλίππου μὲν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀδελφὴν ὁμοπάτριον, σπεύδων οἰκεῖον αὑτὸν ἀπο-
2 δεῖξαι τῆς βασιλικῆς συγγενείας. ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐπὶ τῆς Παλλήνης ὁμώνυμον αὑτοῦ Κασάνδρειαν, εἰς ἣν τάς τε ἐκ τῆς χερρονήσου πόλεις συνῴκισε καὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, ἔτι δὲ τῶν σύνεγγυς χωρίων οὐκ ὀλίγα· κατῴκισε δ' εἰς αὐτὴν καὶ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων τοὺς διασωζομένους, ὄντας οὐκ ὀλίγους.
3 πολλῆς δὲ χώρας προσορισθείσης τοῖς Κασανδρεῦσι καὶ ταύτης ἀγαθῆς, ἔτι δὲ τοῦ Κασάνδρου πολλὰ συμφιλοτιμηθέντος εἰς τὴν αὔξησιν ταχὺ μεγάλην ἐπίδοσιν ἔλαβεν ἡ πόλις καὶ πλεῖστον ἴσχυσε τῶν
4 ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ. ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος διεγνώκει μὲν ἀνελεῖν Ἀλεξάνδρου τὸν παῖδα καὶ τὴν μητέρα

[1] Cp. Livy, 8. 24.

tims, wishing to curry favour with Cassander as well as to avenge their dead, murdered the queen, who uttered no ignoble or womanish plea. 316 B.C.

Such was the end of Olympias, who had attained to the highest dignity of the women of her day, having been daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Epirotes, sister of the Alexander who made a campaign into Italy,[1] and also wife of Philip, who was the mightiest of all who down to this time had ruled in Europe, and mother of Alexander, whose deeds were the greatest and most glorious.

52. As for Cassander, now that his affairs had succeeded according to his intentions, he began to embrace in his hopes the Macedonian kingdom. For this reason he married Thessalonicê, who was Philip's daughter and Alexander's half-sister, since he desired to establish a connection with the royal house.[2] He also founded on Pallenê a city called Cassandreia after his own name,[3] uniting with it as one city the cities of the peninsula, Potidaea, and a considerable number of the neighbouring towns. He also settled in this city those of the Olynthians who survived,[4] not few in number. Since a great deal of land, and good land too, was included within the boundaries of Cassandreia, and since Cassander was very ambitious for the city's increase, it quickly made great progress and became the strongest of the cities of Macedonia. Cassander had determined to do away with Alexander's son and the son's mother, Roxanê, so that

[2] Cp. Justin, 14. 6. 13, Pausanias, 9. 7. 3.

[3] Pallenê is the south-western promontory of Chalcidicê. Since only kings gave their names to cities, Cassander was in effect claiming the throne. Cp. Strabo, 7. frag. 25; Livy, 44. 11. 2.

[4] For the destruction of Olynthus by Philip cp. Book 16. 53.

αὐτοῦ Ῥωξάνην, ἵνα μηδεὶς ᾖ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας· κατὰ δὲ τὸ παρὸν θεωρῆσαι βουλόμενος τοὺς τῶν πολλῶν λόγους, τίνες ἔσονται περὶ τῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀναιρέσεως, ἅμα δ' οὐδὲν πεπυσμένος τῶν περὶ Ἀντίγονον, τὴν μὲν Ῥωξάνην μετὰ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς φυλακὴν παρέδωκε, μεταγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει, τάξας τε ἐπ' αὐτῆς Γλαυκίαν τινὰ τῶν πιστευομένων· ἀπέσπασε δὲ καὶ τοὺς εἰωθότας παῖδας συντρέφεσθαι καὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν οὐκέτι βασιλικήν, ἀλλ' ἰδιώτου τοῦ τυχόντος οἰκείαν

5 ἐκέλευε γίνεσθαι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλικῶς ἤδη διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐρυδίκην μὲν καὶ Φίλιππον τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἔτι δὲ Κύνναν, ἣν ἀνεῖλεν Ἀλκέτας, ἔθαψεν ἐν Αἰγαιαῖς, καθάπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐπιταφίοις ἀγῶσι κατέγραφε τῶν Μακεδόνων τοὺς εὐθέτους, διεγνωκὼς εἰς Πελοπόννησον στρατεύειν.

6 τούτου δὲ περὶ ταῦτ' ὄντος Πολυπέρχων ἐτύγχανε μὲν πολιορκούμενος ἐν Ἀζωρίῳ[1] τῆς Περραιβίας, ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν Ὀλυμπιάδος τελευτὴν καὶ τελέως ἀπελπίσας τὰ κατὰ Μακεδονίαν ἐξεπήδησεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως μετ' ὀλίγων, πορευθεὶς δὲ ἐκ τῆς Θεσσαλίας καὶ παραλαβὼν τοὺς περὶ τὸν Αἰακίδην ἀπεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν Αἰτωλίαν, ὑπολαβὼν ἀσφαλέστατα καραδοκήσειν ἐνταῦθα τὰς τῶν

[1] Ἀζωρίῳ Fischer, Ἀζώρῳ Wesseling: ἐν ναξίῳ RX, ἐν ξιώρῳ F.

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[1] Cp. Justin, 14. 6. 13.

[2] For the death of Eurydicê and Philip cp. chap. 11; and for their burial cp. Diyllus, *FGrH*, 73. 1. By burying the previous rulers, Cassander was, in effect, claiming the throne for himself (cp. W. W. Tarn in *Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 482, and the importance attached to the burial of Alexander in Book 18. 28-29). Cynna was the mother of Eurydicê.

there might be no successor to the kingdom; but for 316 B.C. the present, since he wished to observe what the common people would say about the slaying of Olympias and since he had no news of Antigonus' success, he placed Roxanê and the child in custody, transferring them to the citadel of Amphipolis,[1] in command of which he placed Glaucias, one of his most trusted henchmen. Also he took away the pages who, according to custom, were being brought up as companions of the boy, and he ordered that he should no longer have royal treatment but only such as was proper for any ordinary person of private station. After this, already conducting himself as a king in administering the affairs of the realm, he buried Eurydicê and Philip, the queen and king, and also Cynna, whom Alcetas had slain, in Aegae as was the royal custom.[2] After honouring the dead with funeral games, he enrolled those of the Macedonians who were fit for military service, for he had decided to make a campaign into the Peloponnesus. While Cassander was engaged with these matters, Polyperchon was being besieged in Azorius[3] in Perrhaebia, but on hearing of the death of Olympias he finally, despairing of success in Macedonia, escaped from the city with a few followers. Leaving Thessaly and taking over the troops led by Aeacides,[4] he withdrew into Aetolia, believing that he could wait there with greatest safety and observe the changes in the situa-

[3] Azorius, or Azorus, was a town in northern Thessaly.

[4] For Aeacides, king of the Molossians, cp. chap. 11. 2.

πραγμάτων μεταβολάς· καὶ γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν οἰκείως ἔχων πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος.

53. Κάσανδρος δὲ συστησάμενος ἱκανὴν δύναμιν ἀνέζευξεν ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας, σπεύδων Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οὗτος γὰρ ἦν λοιπὸς μετὰ δυνάμεως τῶν ἀντιπρασσόντων καὶ κατειλήφει πόλεις τε καὶ τόπους ἐπικαίρους. τὴν μὲν οὖν Θεσσαλίαν ἀσφαλῶς διῆλθεν, τὰς δ' ἐν Πύλαις παρόδους εὑρὼν ὑπ' Αἰτωλῶν φυλαττομένας μόγις τούτους βιασάμενος
2 παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν. μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ πανταχόθεν τοὺς διασωζομένους τῶν Θηβαίων ἐνεχείρει κατοικίζειν τὰς Θήβας, ὑπολαβὼν κάλλιστον ἔχειν καιρὸν πόλιν διωνομασμένην καὶ διὰ τὰς πράξεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς παραδεδομένους περὶ αὐτῆς μύθους ἀναστῆσαι καὶ διὰ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν ταύτην
3 τυχεῖν ἀθανάτου δόξης. συμβέβηκε δὲ τὴν πόλιν ταύτην πλείσταις καὶ μεγίσταις κεχρῆσθαι μεταβολαῖς, οὐκ ὀλιγάκις ἀνάστατον γεγενημένην· περὶ ὧν
4 οὐκ ἀνοίκειον ἐν κεφαλαίοις εἰπεῖν. μετὰ γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμὸν Κάδμου κτίσαντος τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορευθεῖσαν Καδμείαν συνῆλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν λαὸς ὃν τινὲς μὲν Σπαρτὸν προσηγόρευσαν διὰ τὸ πανταχόθεν συναχθῆναι, τινὲς δὲ Θηβα-

[1] Cp. Pausanias, 9. 7. 1-2. For the destruction of Thebes cp. Book 17. 12 ff.

[2] Cp. Book 4. 2. 1. The Cadmeia was the acropolis of Thebes.

[3] All ancient authorities derive the name from σπείρειν, "to sow" or "scatter," but with many different explanations. The Spartoi are, variously, men who had been scattered but were brought together by Cadmus, men sown

tion; for as it chanced he was on friendly terms with this people. 316 B.C.

53. But Cassander, after assembling an adequate force, set out from Macedonia, desiring to drive Polyperchon's son Alexander from the Peloponnesus; for of those who opposed Cassander he alone was left with an army, and he had occupied strategically situated cities and districts. Cassander crossed Thessaly without loss, but when he found the pass at Thermopylae guarded by Aetolians, he with difficulty dislodged them and entered Boeotia. Summoning from all sides those of the Thebans who survived, he undertook to re-establish Thebes,[1] for he assumed that this was a most excellent opportunity to set up once more a city that had been widely known both for its achievements and for the myths that had been handed down about it; and he supposed that by this benevolent act he would acquire undying fame. The fact is that this city has experienced many very great changes of fortune and has been destroyed on no few occasions; and it will not be out of place to recount here the chief events of its history. When, after the flood that occurred in the days of Deucalion, Cadmus built the Cadmeia,[2] which was called after his name, there came together there with him a folk whom some call the Spartoi[3] because they had been gathered together from all sides, and others the Thebagenes[4]

or scattered among the other Thebans, the children of Cadmus himself born of many different mothers, or the offspring of the dragon's teeth that had been sown by Cadmus. The last explanation is by far the commonest. Cp. scholium on Euripides, *Phoenician Women*, 670, and Türk in P.-W., *Realencyclopädie*, 3 (2nd series), 1538-1540. For the foundation legend in general cp. Apollodorus, 3. 4. 1 ff.

[4] *i.e.* "Theban-born."

γενῆ διὰ τὸ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκ τῆς προειρημένης πόλεως
ὄντα διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν ἐκπεσεῖν καὶ δια-
5 σπαρῆναι. τοὺς οὖν τότε κατοικήσαντας ὕστερον
Ἐγχελεῖς καταπολεμήσαντες ἐξέβαλον, ὅτε δὴ συν-
έβη καὶ τοὺς περὶ Κάδμον εἰς Ἰλλυριοὺς ἐκπεσεῖν.
μετὰ δὲ ταῦτ' Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου κρατησάντων
τοῦ τόπου καὶ τότε πρῶτον τὸ ἄστυ κτισάντων,
καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ποιητής φησιν

οἳ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἕδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο.

τὸ δεύτερον οἱ κατοικήσαντες τὸν τόπον ἐξέπεσον
κατελθόντος Πολυδώρου τοῦ Κάδμου καὶ κατα-
φρονήσαντος τῶν πραγμάτων[1] διὰ τὴν γενομένην
6 τῷ Ἀμφίονι περὶ τὰ τέκνα συμφοράν. ἑξῆς δὲ τῶν
ἀπογόνων τούτου βασιλευόντων καὶ τῆς ὅλης χώρας
ἤδη Βοιωτίας καλουμένης ἀπὸ Βοιωτοῦ τοῦ Μελα-
νίππης μὲν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱοῦ, δυναστεύσαντος
δὲ τῶν τόπων, τὸ τρίτον ἐκπίπτουσιν οἱ Θηβαῖοι
τῶν ἐξ Ἄργους ἐπιγόνων ἐκπολιορκησάντων τὴν
7 πόλιν. τῶν δ' ἐκπεσόντων οἱ διασωθέντες κατ-
έφυγον μὲν εἰς Ἀλαλκομενίαν καὶ τὸ Τιλφώσιον

[1] Wesseling's conjecture, τῶν προσταξάντων, may be correct.

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[1] For Cadmus among the Encheleans, an Illyrian tribe, cp. Apollodorus, 3. 5. 4; Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1334. As king of these Encheleans, Cadmus led an army into Greece and sacked Delphi, but I find no other reference to a sack of Thebes by the Encheleans. According to Herodotus (5. 61), when the Thebans were driven from home by the Epigoni they took refuge with the Encheleans.

[2] *Odyssey*, 11. 263. Amphion and Zethus, sons of Zeus and Antiopê, captured Thebes to avenge the cruel treatment accorded their mother by Lycus, king of Thebes, and his wife Dircê. They then built a wall for the city, the

because they were originally from Thebes but had been driven out and scattered by the flood. Be that as it may, these people then settled in the city but later the Encheleans defeated them in war and drove them out, at which time Cadmus and his followers also were driven to Illyria.[1] Later Amphion and Zethus became masters of the site and then built the lower city for the first time, as the poet says: 316 B.C.

> First by them was established Thebes of the seven gates.[2]

Then the inhabitants of the place were exiled a second time, for Polydorus, son of Cadmus, came back and was dissatisfied with the situation because of the misfortunes that had befallen Amphion in connection with his children.[3] Next, when Polydorus' own descendants were kings [4] and the whole country had already received the name Boeotia from Boeotus, who was the son of Melanippê and Poseidon and had been ruler of the region, the Thebans for the third time suffered exile, for the Epigoni from Argos took the city by siege.[5] The survivors of those driven out took refuge in Alalcomenia and on Mount Til-

stones being charmed into place by the lyre-playing of Amphion.

[3] *i.e.* the Niobides, slain by Apollo and Artemis to punish their mother Niobê, who had presumed to compare herself with Leto.

[4] Eteocles and Polyneices, sons of Oedipus, son of Laius, son of Labdacus, son of Polydorus. Polyneices, wrongfully excluded from a share in power by his brother, secured the aid of his father-in-law, Adrastus of Argos, in a vain effort to make good his return—the Seven Against Thebes. Cp. Book 4. 65.

[5] A generation after the failure of the "Seven," their descendants, the Epigoni or Late-born, were successful in their attack on Thebes, cp. Book 4. 66-67.

ὅρος, τῶν δὲ Ἀργείων ἀποχωρησάντων ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον ἐκστρατευσάντων τῶν Θηβαίων εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν οἱ καταλειφθέντες ἐξέπεσον μετὰ τῶν
8 ἄλλων Βοιωτῶν ὑπὸ Πελασγῶν. οὐκ ὀλίγοις δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα περιπεσόντες συμπτώμασι μόγις μετὰ τετάρτην γενεὰν κατὰ τὸν γενόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν κοράκων χρησμὸν ἀπῆλθον εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν καὶ τὰς Θήβας κατῴκησαν. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν χρόνων διαμενούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' ἔτη σχεδὸν ὀκτακόσια καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῶν Θηβαίων τοῦ παρ' αὐτῶν[1] ἔθνους προστάντων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητησάντων Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου κατὰ κράτος ἐκπολιορκήσας κατέσκαψεν.

54. Εἰκοστῷ δ' ἔτει ὕστερον Κάσανδρος φιλοδοξῆσαι βουλόμενος καὶ πείσας τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἀνέστησε τὴν πόλιν τοῖς διασωζομένοις τῶν Θη-
2 βαίων. συνεπελάβοντο δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων τοῦ συνοικισμοῦ πολλαὶ διά τε τὸν πρὸς τοὺς ἠτυχηκότας ἔλεον καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τῆς πόλεως· Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν γὰρ τὸ πολὺ μέρος τοῦ τείχους ἀνέστησαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ μὲν ᾠκοδόμησαν κατὰ δύναμιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ χρήματα πρὸς τὰς κατεπειγούσας χρείας ἀπέστειλαν οὐ μόνον τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἀλλὰ καὶ Σικελίας, ἔτι δ'
3 Ἰταλίας. Θηβαῖοι μὲν οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκομίσαντο τὴν πατρίδα.

[1] *αὐτῶν* Post: *αὐτῶν*.

[1] Both are near Haliartus on the south shore of the Copaic Lake. Cp. Strabo, 9. 2. 27, 35. In Book 4. 67. 1 we are told that the Cadmeans, leaving Tilphossaeum (*sic*), made a

phosium,[1] but after the Argives had departed they returned to their native city. After that, when the Thebans had gone to Asia for the Trojan War, those who were left behind were expelled along with the rest of the Boeotians by Pelasgians.[2] Thereafter they met with many misfortunes, and only with difficulty in the fourth generation according to the prophecy of the ravens did they return to Boeotia and re-establish Thebes.[3] From that time the city persisted for nearly eight hundred years, the Thebans at first becoming the leaders of their own people and later disputing for the leadership of the Greeks,[4] until Alexander, son of Philip, captured the city by storm and destroyed it. 316 B.C.

54. In the twentieth year thereafter Cassander in his desire for glory, after first obtaining the consent of the Boeotians, rebuilt the city for those of the Thebans who survived. Many of the Greek cities shared in the resettlement both because of their pity for the unfortunate and because of the glory of the city. The Athenians, for example, rebuilt the greater part of the wall, and of the other Greeks, not alone from Greece itself but from Sicily and Italy as well, some erected buildings to the extent of their ability, and others sent money for the pressing needs. In this way the Thebans recovered their city.

successful invasion of Doris, where some of them settled, the rest returning to Thebes; but Herodotus (5. 61) has these Theban fugitives take refuge among the Encheleans in Illyria (cp. § 5 above).

[2] Cp. Strabo, 9. 2. 25, 29; Thucydides, 1. 12. 3.

[3] The scholiast on Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 133, gives another version: on being driven from home by Thracians, the Thebans were told to settle where they saw a white raven.

[4] For the Theban hegemony of Greece cp. Book 15. 25-94 *passim*.

Κάσανδρος δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας ἐπὶ Πελοποννήσου καὶ καταλαβὼν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος διειληφότα τὸν Ἰσθμὸν φυλακαῖς παρῆλθεν εἰς Μέγαρα. ἐνταῦθα δὲ κατασκευάσας σχεδίας ἐπὶ μὲν τούτων τοὺς ἐλέφαντας διεβίβασεν εἰς Ἐπίδαυρον, ἐν δὲ πλοίοις τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν. παρελθὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων πόλιν ταύτην μὲν ἠνάγκασεν ἀποστᾶσαν τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρου συμ-
4 μαχίας αὐτῷ προσθέσθαι, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ πόλεις προσηγάγετο πλὴν Ἰθώμης καὶ τὴν Ἑρμιονίδα δι' ὁμολογίας παρέλαβεν. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου μὴ συγκαταβαίνοντος εἰς παράταξιν ἀπολιπὼν ἐπὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν πρὸς[1] Γερανίας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους καὶ στρατηγὸν Μόλυκκον ἐπανῆλθεν εἰς Μακεδονίαν.

55. Τοῦ δ' ἔτους τούτου διεληλυθότος Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἦρχε Πραξίβουλος, ἐν Ῥώμῃ δὲ κατέστησαν ὕπατοι Ναύτιος Σπόριος καὶ Μάρκος Πόπλιος. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων Ἀντίγονος τῆς μὲν Σουσιανῆς ἀπέλιπε σατράπην Ἀσπίσαν, ἕνα τῶν ἐγχωρίων, αὐτὸς δὲ τὰ χρήματα πάντα διαγνοὺς κατακομίζειν ἐπὶ θάλασσαν, ἁμάξας καὶ καμήλους παρεσκευάσατο καὶ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἔχων ταῦτα προῆγεν ἐπὶ
2 τῆς Βαβυλωνίας. ἐν ἡμέραις δ' εἴκοσι καὶ δυσὶν αὐτοῦ καταντήσαντος εἰς Βαβυλῶνα Σέλευκος ὁ τῆς χώρας σατράπης δωρεαῖς τε βασιλικαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Ἀντίγονον καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἅπασαν εἱστί-
3 ασεν. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου λόγους ἀπαιτοῦντος τῶν

[1] πρὸς added by Post.

[1] Gerania is the mountain range between Megara and

To return to Cassander, he set out with his army 316 B.C.
for the Peloponnesus, but on finding that Alexander, son of Polyperchon, had blocked the Isthmus with guards, he turned aside to Megara. There he constructed barges upon which he transported the elephants to Epidaurus, taking the rest of the army in boats. Coming to the city of the Argives, he forced it to abandon its alliance with Alexander and to join him, after which he won over the cities of Messenia except Ithomê, and gained Hermionis through negotiation. As Alexander, however, did not come out to fight, he left at the end of the Isthmus toward Gerania[1] two thousand soldiers commanded by Molyccus and returned to Macedonia.

55. When this year had passed, Praxibulus was archon at Athens and in Rome Nautius Spurius and Marcus Poplius were consuls.[2] While these held office Antigonus left Aspisas, a native, as satrap of Susianê,[3] while he himself, having decided to convey all the money to the sea, prepared waggons and camels and, taking the treasure, set out for Babylonia with the army. In twenty-two days he arrived in Babylon, and Seleucus, the satrap of the country, honoured him with gifts suitable for a king and feasted the whole army. When Antigonus, however, demanded

Corinth with passes of some military importance (Book 11. 80. 1).

[2] Praxibulus was archon in 315/14. Spurius Nautius Rutilus and M. Popilius Laenas were consuls in 316 (Livy, 9. 21. 1; *Fasti Capitolini* for 316). The events described in this chapter and the next still belong to the year 316 B.C. (Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*[2], 4. 2. 240).

[3] Replacing an Antigenes (Book 18. 39. 6) who is probably not to be identified with the commander of the Silver Shields. Cp. Appian, *Syrian History*, 53, for the quarrel between Antigonus and Seleucus.

προσόδων οὐκ ἔφησεν ὀφείλειν ὑπὲρ ταύτης τῆς
χώρας ὑπέχειν εὐθύνας, ἣν Μακεδόνες αὐτῷ δε-
δώκασι διὰ τὰς γεγενημένας ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρείας
4 Ἀλεξάνδρου ζῶντος. τῆς δὲ διαφορᾶς καθ' ἡμέ-
ραν αὐξομένης ὁ Σέλευκος ἀναλογιζόμενος τὰ
Πίθωνι συμβάντα περιδεὴς ἦν μήποτε προφάσεως
λαβόμενος ὁ Ἀντίγονος ἀνελεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιχει-
ρήσῃ· ἐῴκει γὰρ τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώμασι τῶν ἀνδρῶν
ὄντας καὶ δυναμένους πραγμάτων ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι
5 πάντας σπεύδειν ἐκ ποδῶν ἀπαλλάσσειν. ταῦτ' οὖν
εὐλαβηθεὶς ἐξεπήδησεν μετὰ πεντήκονθ' ἱππέων,
διανοούμενος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποχωρεῖν πρὸς Πτο-
λεμαῖον· διεβεβόητο γὰρ ἡ τούτου χρηστότης καὶ
τὸ πρὸς τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐκτενὲς καὶ
6 φιλάνθρωπον. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἀκούσας περιχα-
ρὴς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ δοκεῖν αὐτὸς μὲν μὴ συνηναγκά-
σθαι προσενεγκεῖν τὰς χεῖρας ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ καὶ
συνηγωνισμένῳ προθύμως, τὸν Σέλευκον δ' αὐτὸν
αὑτοῦ καταγνόντα φυγὴν παραδεδωκέναι τὴν σα-
7 τραπείαν χωρὶς ἀγώνων καὶ κινδύνων. μετὰ δὲ
ταῦτα προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν Χαλδαίων καὶ
προλεγόντων ὡς, εἰ τὸν Σέλευκον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν
ἀφήσει, συμβήσεται τήν τ' Ἀσίαν πᾶσαν ὑποχείριον
γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον
παρατάξει καταστρέψειν τὸν βίον, μεταμεληθεὶς
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἐξέπεμψε τοὺς διώξοντας· οἳ
μέχρι τινὸς ἐπακολουθήσαντες ἐπανῆλθον ἄπρακτοι.
8 ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καταφρονεῖν εἰωθὼς
τῶν τοιούτων προρρήσεων οὐ μετρίως ἐκινήθη τότε,

[1] He had been made satrap of Babylonia by Antipater at Triparadeisus (Book 18. 39. 6).

an accounting for the revenues, Seleucus answered 316 B.C. that he was not bound to undergo a public investigation of his administration of this country which the Macedonians had given him in recognition of his services rendered while Alexander was alive.[1] As the dispute grew more serious each day, Seleucus, reasoning from the fate of Pithon,[2] feared that Antigonus would some day seize a pretext and undertake to destroy him; for Antigonus seemed eager to put out of the way all of his associates who were of high rank and were capable of claiming a share in the government. Therefore to avoid this, he escaped with fifty horsemen, intending to retire into Egypt to Ptolemy; for word had spread abroad of Ptolemy's kindness and of his cordiality and friendliness toward those who fled to him.[3] When Antigonus learned of the flight, he was pleased, since it seemed that he himself had been spared the necessity of laying violent hands upon a man who had been his friend and had actively co-operated with him, and that Seleucus, by condemning himself to exile, had surrendered his satrapy without struggle or danger. But then the Chaldean astrologers came to him and foretold that if ever he let Seleucus escape from his hands, the consequence would be that all Asia would become subject to Seleucus, and that Antigonus himself would lose his life in a battle against him. At this, Antigonus repented his former course and sent men to pursue Seleucus, but they, after tracking him for a certain distance, returned with their mission unaccomplished. Although Antigonus was accustomed to despise prophecies of this kind on other occasions, he was not a little troubled at this time, being dis-

[2] Cp. chap. 46. 1-4. [3] Cp. Book 18. 14. 1, 28. 5, 33. 3.

καταπλαγεὶς τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν ἀνδρῶν· μεγάλη γάρ τις ἐμπειρία περὶ τούτους εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ παρατήρησις τῶν ἄστρων[1] ἀκριβεστάτη. ἀποφαίνονται γὰρ πολλὰς μυριάδας ἐτῶν ὑπάρχειν ἐξ οὗ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν ἡ περὶ ταῦτα σπουδή· δοκοῦσι δὲ καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ προειπεῖν ὅτι παρελθὼν εἰς Βαβυλῶνα
9 τελευτήσει. ὁμοίως δὲ τῇ περὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου προρρήσει συνέβη καὶ τὴν περὶ[2] Σελεύκου τελεσθῆναι κατὰ τὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τούτων ἀποφάσεις· περὶ ἧς τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἐροῦμεν, ὅταν ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκείους χρόνους ἐπιβαλώμεθα.

56. Ὁ δ' οὖν Σέλευκος διασωθεὶς εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον φιλανθρωπίας τε πάσης ἐτύγχανε παρὰ Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο πικρὰν Ἀντιγόνου, λέγων ὅτι διέγνωκεν[3] πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώμασιν ὄντας καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ συνεστρατευκότας ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῶν σατραπειῶν καὶ τούτων ἀποδείξεις ἔφερε τήν τε Πίθωνος ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τὴν Πευκέστου τῆς Περσίδος ἀφαίρεσιν καὶ τὰ περὶ
2 αὐτὸν συμβάντα· πάντας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἠδικηκότας, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρείας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ἐν τῇ φιλίᾳ παρεσχημένους ἀρετῆς ὑπομεμενηκέναι πρόστιμον. διεξῄει δὲ καὶ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεων καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων, ἔτι δὲ τὰς προσφάτους εὐτυχίας, ἐξ ὧν ὑπεδείκνυεν ὑπερήφανον γεγενημένον καὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσι περιειληφότα πᾶσαν τὴν
3 Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. διὰ δὲ τοιούτων λόγων προτρεψάμενος τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἑτοιμάζεσθαι τὰ

[1] καὶ παρατήρησις τῶν ἄστρων Wurm, cp. Books 1. 28. 1, 2. 30. 1: καὶ παρὰ τούτοις ἡ τήρησις τῶν ἄστρων.
[2] περὶ added by Dindorf.
[3] διέγνωκεν Hertlein: διεγνώκει.

turbed by the reputation of the men, for they are 316 B.C. reputed to possess a great deal of experience and to make most exact observations of the stars. Indeed they declare that for many myriads of years the study of these matters has been pursued among them. It is also believed that they foretold to Alexander that, if he entered Babylon, he would die.[1] And just as was the case with the prophecy about Alexander, it came to pass that this prophecy in regard to Seleucus was fulfilled according to the assertion of these men. Of this we shall speak in detail when we come to the proper period.[2]

56. Seleucus, arriving safely in Egypt, met with nothing but kindness from Ptolemy. He bitterly accused Antigonus, saying that Antigonus had determined to remove from their satrapies all who were men of rank and in particular those who had served under Alexander; as examples of this he mentioned the slaying of Pithon,[3] the removal of Peucestes from Persia,[4] and his own experiences; for all of these men, who were guiltless of wrongdoing and had even performed great services out of friendship, had been patiently awaiting a reward for virtue. He reviewed also the magnitude of Antigonus' armed forces, his vast wealth, and his recent successes, and went on to intimate that in consequence he had become arrogant and had encompassed in his ambitious plans the entire kingdom of the Macedonians. When by such arguments he had induced Ptolemy to prepare for

[1] Cp. Book 17. 112. 2.
[2] Book 21, in which Diodorus narrated the rise of Seleucus, is extant only in fragments.
[3] Cp. chap. 46. 1-4.
[4] Cp. chap. 48. 5.

πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐξέπεμψέ τινας τῶν φίλων εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, προστάξας πειρᾶσθαι τοῖς ὁμοίοις λόγοις ἐχθροὺς Ἀντιγόνου καταστῆσαι Κάσανδρόν τε καὶ
4 Λυσίμαχον. ὧν ταχὺ τὸ κελευσθὲν συντελεσάντων ἀρχὴ διαφορᾶς ἐφύετο καὶ μεγάλων πολέμων. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος ἐκ τῶν εἰκότων συλλογισάμενος τὴν Σελεύκου προαίρεσιν ἐξέπεμψε πρεσβευτὰς πρός τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον καὶ Κάσανδρον, ἀξιῶν διαφυλάσσειν τὴν προϋπάρχουσαν φιλίαν· τῆς δὲ Βαβυλωνίας καταστήσας σατράπην Πίθωνα τὸν ἐκ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καταβεβηκότα, μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀνέζευξεν, ἐπὶ τῆς Κιλικίας τὴν πορείαν ποιούμενος.
5 ὡς δ' εἰς Μάλον παρεγένετο, διεμέρισε τὴν δύναμιν εἰς παραχειμασίαν μετὰ δύσιν Ὠρίωνος. παρέλαβε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Κυΐνδοις χρήματα, τάλαντα μύρια. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἔπιπτεν[1] ἐκ τῶν προσόδων αὐτῷ τῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τάλαντα μύρια χίλια. διόπερ συνέβαινεν αὐτὸν φοβερὸν εἶναι καὶ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν δυνάμεων καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων.

57. Προάγοντος δ' εἰς τὴν ἄνω Συρίαν Ἀντιγόνου παρεγένοντο πρέσβεις παρά τε Πτολεμαίου καὶ Λυσιμάχου καὶ Κασάνδρου. οὗτοι δ' εἰσαχθέντες εἰς τὸ συνέδριον ἠξίουν Καππαδοκίαν μὲν καὶ Λυκίαν[2] Κασάνδρῳ[3] δοθῆναι, Φρυγίαν δὲ τὴν ἐφ' Ἑλλησπόντῳ Λυσιμάχῳ, Συρίαν δὲ πᾶσαν Πτολεμαίῳ, Βαβυλωνίαν δὲ Σελεύκῳ, τῶν δὲ θησαυρῶν, οὓς παρέλαβεν μετὰ τὴν πρὸς Εὐμενῆ μάχην, ποιήσασθαι μερισμόν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς κε-

[1] ἔπιπτεν Fischer in apparatus: ἐκπίπτειν.
[2] Tarn (*Cambridge Ancient History*, 6. 484) suggests Κιλικίαν.
[3] Wesseling reads Ἀσάνδρῳ, with approval of Fischer, cp. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus* (ed. 2), 2. 2. 6.

war, he sent certain of his friends to Europe, directing 316 B.C.
them to try by similar arguments to convert Cassander and Lysimachus into enemies of Antigonus. They quickly carried out their instructions, and the seed of a quarrel and of great wars began to grow. But Antigonus, who had deduced by reasoning from probabilities what course of action Seleucus was following, sent envoys to Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, urging them to maintain the existing friendship. He next established as satrap of Babylonia that Pithon who had come from India,[1] and then, setting out with his army, he marched toward Cilicia. He arrived at Malus[2] and, after the setting of Orion,[3] divided the army for passing the winter. He also took the money at Cyinda,[4] which amounted to ten thousand talents. Apart from this there fell to him from the annual revenue eleven thousand talents. As a result he was a formidable antagonist both because of the size of his armies and because of the amount of his wealth.

57. While Antigonus was going into upper Syria, envoys arrived from Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander. When they had been brought into the council, they demanded that Cappadocia and Lycia be given to Cassander,[5] Hellespontine Phrygia to Lysimachus, all Syria to Ptolemy, and Babylonia to Seleucus, and that Antigonus should divide the treasures that he had captured after the battle with

[1] *i.e.* Pithon, the son of Agenor, who had been made satrap of India by Antipater (Book 18. 39. 6).
[2] Malus or Mallus, a city of Cilicia on the Pyramus River, exact situation unknown, cp. Strabo, 14. 5. 16.
[3] In November, 316.
[4] A city of Cilicia, exact situation unknown, cp. Book 18. 62. 2.
[5] But cp. critical note.

κοινωνηκέναι τοῦ πολέμου. εἰ δὲ μηδὲν τούτων ποιήσει, συστάντες ἅπαντες ἔφασαν πολεμήσειν
2 αὐτῷ. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου τραχύτερον ἀποκριναμένου καὶ τὰ πρὸς πόλεμον[1] εἰπόντος παρασκευάζεσθαι συνέβη τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἐπανελθεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ μὲν περὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ Λυσίμαχον, ἔτι δὲ Κάσανδρον συμμαχίαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ποιησάμενοι δυνάμεις τε συνῆγον καὶ παρασκευὰς ὅπλων τε καὶ βελῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν χρησίμων
3 ἐποίουν· Ἀντίγονος δὲ ὁρῶν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν συνεστηκότας πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους τοῖς ἀξιώμασιν ἄνδρας καὶ συλλογιζόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ φυομένου πολέμου τά τ' ἔθνη καὶ πόλεις καὶ δυνάστας προσ-
4 εκαλεῖτο εἰς συμμαχίαν. Ἀγησίλαον μὲν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεῖς, εἰς δὲ Ῥόδον Ἰδομενέα καὶ Μοσχίωνα, Πτολεμαῖον[2] δὲ τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἀπέστειλεν, ἵνα λύσῃ μὲν Ἀμισσοῦ τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου πεμφθέντας εἰς Καππαδοκίαν ἐκβάλῃ πάντας, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ὅπως παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἑλλήσποντον ἐφεδρεύῃ τοῖς περὶ Κάσανδρον, ἂν
5 ἐπιχειρῇ διαβαίνειν ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης. Ἀριστόδημον δὲ τὸν Μιλήσιον εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἐξέπεμψεν ἔχοντα χίλια τάλαντα· τούτῳ δὲ συνετέτακτο συνθέσθαι φιλίαν πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα καὶ ξενολογήσαντα τοὺς ἱκανοὺς διαπολεμεῖν Κασάνδρῳ. αὐτὸς δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν

[1] πόλεμον Dindorf: Πτολεμαῖον.

[2] Fischer in apparatus suggests Πολεμαῖον, cp. *IG*, 2². 1. 469, Beloch, *Griechische Geschichte*², 4. 1. 124, note 3.

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[1] Cp. Appian, *Syrian History*, 53; Justin, 15. 1.

Eumenes, since they too had had a share in the war. 315 B.C. They said that if he did none of these things, they would all join in waging war on him. Antigonus answered rather harshly and bade them make ready for war, with the result that the envoys went away with their mission unaccomplished. At this Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, after making a mutual alliance, gathered their forces and prepared stocks of arms, missiles, and the other needful things.[1] But now that Antigonus saw that many men of great repute had combined against him, and computed the extent of the war that was springing up, he summoned the nations, cities, and rulers to join his alliance. He sent Agesilaüs to the kings in Cyprus, Idomeneus and Moschion to Rhodes, and his own nephew Ptolemy with an army to Cappadocia to raise the siege of Amisus, to drive out all who had been sent by Cassander into Cappadocia, and finally to take a position on the Hellespont and lie in wait for Cassander if he should try to cross over from Europe. He sent Aristodemus of Miletus to the Peloponnesus with a thousand talents, instructing him to establish friendship with Alexander and Polyperchon and, after raising an adequate force of mercenaries, to carry on the war against Cassander. He himself established at intervals throughout all that part of

ἧς ἦν κύριος διέλαβε πυρσοῖς καὶ βυβλιαφόροις,
δι' ὧν ὀξέως ἤμελλεν ὑπηρετεῖσθαι πάντα.

58. Ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ
Φοινίκην, σπεύδων ναυτικὴν δύναμιν συστήσασθαι·
συνέβαινε γὰρ τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους τότε θαλασσο-
κρατεῖν ναῦς πολλὰς ἔχοντας, αὐτῷ δὲ τὸ παρά-
παν οὐδ' ὀλίγας εἶναι. στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ ἐν
Παλαιτύρῳ[1] τῆς Φοινίκης καὶ πολιορκῆσαι δια-
νοούμενος τὴν Τύρον μετεπέμπετο τοὺς βασιλεῖς
2 τῶν Φοινίκων καὶ τοὺς ὑπάρχους τῆς Συρίας. καὶ
τοὺς μὲν βασιλεῖς προετρέψατο συνεπιλαβέσθαι
ναυπηγίας, ἐπειδὴ τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐκ Φοινίκης ἁπάσας
μετὰ τῶν πληρωμάτων Πτολεμαῖος εἶχεν ἐν Αἰγύ-
πτῳ· τοῖς δ' ὑπάρχοις ἐκέλευσεν ἑτοιμάσαι κατὰ
τάχος πυρῶν μὲν μεδίμνων μυριάδας τετρακοσίας
πεντήκοντα,[2] τοσοῦτο γὰρ εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐγίνετο
δαπάνημα. αὐτὸς δὲ πανταχόθεν ἀθροίσας ὑλοτό-
μους καὶ πρίστας, ἔτι δὲ ναυπηγοὺς κατεκόμιζε τὴν
ὕλην ἐπὶ θάλασσαν ἐκ τοῦ Λιβάνου, τεμνόντων μὲν
αὐτὴν καὶ πριζόντων ἀνδρῶν ὀκτακισχιλίων, κατα-
3 κομιζόντων δὲ ζευγῶν χιλίων. τὸ δ' ὄρος τοῦτο
παρήκει μὲν παρά τε τὴν Τρίπολιν καὶ Βυβλίαν, ἔτι
δὲ Σιδωνίαν, πλῆρες δ' ἐστὶ ξύλων κεδρίνων καὶ
κυπαρισσίνων θαυμαστῶν τό τε κάλλος καὶ μέγε-
4 θος. ναυπηγεῖα δ' ἀπέδειξε τρία μὲν κατὰ τὴν
Φοινίκην, ἔν τε Τριπόλει καὶ Βύβλῳ καὶ Σιδῶνι,

[1] Παλαιτύρῳ Geer, cp. chap. 59. 3 and Book 17. 40. 5: Τύρῳ.

[2] Lacuna indicated by Fischer, who suggests in apparatus <κριθῶν δὲ . . .>.

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[1] The Persian king had been served by an elaborate system of couriers and signal fires. By means of the latter, news could be sent in a single day from the most distant

Asia of which he was master a system of fire-signals and dispatch-carriers, by means of which he expected to have quick service in all his business.[1] 315 B.C.

58. After attending to these matters, Antigonus set out for Phoenicia, hastening to organize a naval force; for it so happened that his enemies then ruled the sea with many ships, but that he had, altogether, not even a few. Camping at Old Tyre[2] in Phoenicia and intending to besiege Tyre, he called together the kings of the Phoenicians and the viceroys of Syria. He instructed the kings to assist him in building ships, since Ptolemy was holding in Egypt all the ships from Phoenicia with their crews. He ordered the viceroys to prepare quickly four and a half million measures of wheat . . .,[3] for such was the annual consumption. He himself collected wood cutters, sawyers, and shipwrights from all sides, and carried wood to the sea from Lebanon. There were eight thousand men employed in cutting and sawing the timber and one thousand pair of draught animals in transporting it. This mountain range extends along the territory of Tripolis, Byblus, and Sidon, and is covered with cedar and cypress trees of wonderful beauty and size. He established three shipyards in Phoenicia—at Tripolis, Byblus, and Sidon—and a

parts of the empire to Susa and Ecbatana (Aristotle, *De Mundo*, 398 b 30-35). A different system is described in chap. 17. 7.

[2] Old Tyre, the portion of the city situated on the mainland, had been destroyed by Nebuchadrezzer during his long siege of the island citadel. In occupying Old Tyre before attempting the siege of the island, Antigonus was following the example of Alexander (Book 17. 40. 5).

[3] About 3,375,000 bushels. It is probable that mention of a quantity of barley, needed for feeding the horses, has been lost from the text.

τέταρτον δὲ περὶ Κιλικίαν, κομιζομένης τῆς ὕλης
5 ἐκ τοῦ Ταύρου. ἦν δὲ καὶ περὶ Ῥόδον ἄλλο, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ δήμου κατασκευάζειν ναῦς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕλης τῆς εἰσκομιζομένης. τοῦ δ' Ἀντιγόνου περὶ ταῦτα ὄντος καὶ πλησίον τῆς θαλάσσης κατεστρατοπεδευκότος ἧκεν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου Σέλευκος μετὰ νεῶν ἑκατὸν κεκοσμημένων βασιλικῶς καὶ πλεουσῶν ἱκανῶς. ποιουμένου δ' αὐτοῦ τὸν παράπλουν παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν στρατοπεδείαν καταπεφρονηκότως οἵ τε ἐκ τῶν συμμαχίδων πόλεων καὶ πάντες οἱ κοινοπραγοῦντες τοῖς περὶ Ἀντίγονον ἄθυμοι καθ-
6 ειστήκεισαν· πρόδηλον γὰρ ἦν ὅτι θαλασσοκρατοῦντες οἱ πολέμιοι πορθήσουσι τοὺς τοῖς ἐναντίοις κοινοπραγοῦντας ἀπὸ τῆς πρὸς Ἀντίγονον φιλίας. ὁ δ' Ἀντίγονος τούτους μὲν παρεκάλει θαρρεῖν, διαβεβαιούμενος ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ θερίᾳ ἀναπλευσεῖσθαι[1] ναυσὶ πεντακοσίαις.

59. Ὄντος δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ ταῦτα παρῆν Ἀγησίλαος ὁ πεμφθεὶς εἰς Κύπρον πρεσβευτής, ἀπαγγέλλων ὅτι Νικοκρέων μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων οἱ κράτιστοι βασιλεῖς πρὸς Πτολεμαῖον πεποίηνται συμμαχίαν, ὁ δὲ Κιτιεὺς καὶ Λαπίθιος, ἔτι δὲ Μαριεὺς[2] καὶ Κερυνίτης τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν
2 συντέθεινται. ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα τρισχιλίους μὲν στρατιώτας καὶ στρατηγὸν Ἀνδρόνικον κατέλιπεν ἐπὶ τῆς πολιορκίας, αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀναζεύξας τήν τ' Ἰόππην καὶ Γάζαν ἀπειθούσας κατὰ κράτος εἷλε καὶ τοὺς μὲν καταληφθέντας

[1] ἀναπλευσεῖσθαι Hertlein: ἀπελεύσεσθαι R, πλευσεῖσθαι X, διελεύσεσθαι F.

[2] Μαριεὺς Gronovius: Μάριος, cp. chap. 62. 6 (Μανέων R, Μανεῶν X), 79. 4 (Μαλιέως).

fourth in Cilicia, the timber for which was brought from Mount Taurus. There was also another in Rhodes, where the state agreed to make ships from imported timber. While Antigonus was busy with these matters and after he had established his camp near the sea, Seleucus arrived from Egypt with a hundred ships, which were royally equipped and which sailed excellently. As he sailed contemptuously along past the very camp, men from the allied cities and all who were co-operating with Antigonus were downhearted; for it was very clear that, since the enemy dominated the sea, they would plunder the lands of those who aided their opponents out of friendship for Antigonus. Antigonus, however, bade them be of good courage, affirming that in that very summer he would take the sea with five hundred vessels. 315 B.C.

59. While Antigonus was thus engaged, Agesilaüs, the envoy whom he had sent to Cyprus, arrived with the information that Nicocreon [1] and the most powerful of the other kings had made an alliance with Ptolemy, but that the kings of Cition, Lapithus, Marion, and Ceryneia had concluded a treaty of friendship with himself. On learning this, Antigonus left three thousand soldiers under Andronicus to carry on the siege, but he himself set out with the army and took by storm Joppa and Gaza, cities that had refused obedience. The soldiers of Ptolemy

[1] Nicocreon, king of Cyprian Salamis, had made an alliance with Ptolemy in 321 (Arrian, *FGrH*, 156. 10. 6), and later governed the whole island for the Egyptian king (chap. 79. 5).

Πτολεμαίου στρατιώτας ἐπιδιεῖλεν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας τάξεις, εἰς δὲ τὰς πόλεις παρεισήγαγε φρουρὰν τὴν
3 ἀναγκάσουσαν πειθαρχεῖν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας. αὐτὸς δ' ἐπανελθὼν εἰς τὴν πρὸς Παλαιτύρῳ στρατοπεδείαν παρεσκευάζετο τὰ πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν.

Ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν καιρῶν τούτων Ἀρίστων ὁ πιστευθεὶς ὑπ' Εὐμενοῦς τῶν ὀστῶν τῶν Κρατεροῦ παρέδωκεν εἰς ταφὴν αὐτὰ Φίλᾳ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Κρατερῷ συνοικούσῃ, τότε δὲ Δημητρίῳ τῷ Ἀντι-
4 γόνου. αὕτη δ' ἡ γυνὴ συνέσει δοκεῖ διενηνοχέναι· τούς τε γὰρ ταραχώδεις τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατέπαυεν ἁρμοζόντως πολιτευομένη πρὸς ἕκαστον, τάς τε ἀδελφὰς καὶ θυγατέρας τῶν ἀπόρων ἐξεδίδου τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανήμασι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν διαβολαῖς περιπιπτόντων μὴ δικαίαις ἀπήλλασσε
5 τῶν κινδύνων. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀντίπατρον τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς, ὃς δοκεῖ γεγονέναι φρονιμώτατος τῶν ἐν δυναστείαις γεγονότων κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡλικίαν, κόρης οὔσης ἔτι τῆς Φίλας συμβουλεύε-
6 σθαι πρὸς ταύτην περὶ τῶν μεγίστων. μηνύσει δ' ἀκριβέστερον τὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ἦθος προϊὼν ὁ λόγος καὶ τὰ πράγματα λαμβάνοντα μεταβολὴν καὶ κρίσιν ἐσχάτην τῆς περὶ Δημήτριον βασιλείας.

Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Φίλαν τὴν Δημητρίου γυναῖκα τοιαῦτ' ἦν.

60. Τῶν δὲ πεμφθέντων ὑπ' Ἀντιγόνου στρατηγῶν Ἀριστόδημος μὲν πλεύσας εἰς τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν ἐξουσίαν ξενολογεῖν, στρατιώτας ἤθροισεν ὀκτακισχιλίους ἐκ τῆς Πελοποννήσου. ἐντυχὼν δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ καὶ Πολυ-

whom he captured he distributed among his own ranks, but he placed in each city a garrison to force the inhabitants to obey him. He himself then went back to the camp at Old Tyre and made preparations for the siege. 315 B.C.

At this time Ariston, to whose care the bones of Craterus [1] had been entrusted by Eumenes, gave them for burial to Phila, who had formerly been the wife of Craterus, but now was married to Demetrius, the son of Antigonus. This woman seems to have been of exceptional sagacity; for example, she would quell the trouble-makers in the camp by dealing with each individual in a manner appropriate to his case, she would arrange marriages at her own expense for the sisters and daughters of the poor, and she would free from jeopardy many who had been trapped by false accusations. It is even said that her father Antipater, who is reputed to have been the wisest of the rulers of his own time, used to consult with Phila about the most important matters when she was still a child. But the character of the woman will be more clearly revealed by my narrative as it progresses and by the events that brought change and a final crisis to the reign of Demetrius.[2]

This was the situation of the affairs of Antigonus and of Phila, the wife of Demetrius.

60. Of the generals who had been sent out by Antigonus,[3] Aristodemus sailed to Laconia and, on receiving permission from the Spartans to recruit mercenaries, enrolled eight thousand soldiers from the Peloponnesus. Meeting Alexander and Poly-

[1] For Craterus' death cp. Book 18. 30. 1-5.
[2] The portion of the History referred to is lost.
[3] Cp. chap. 57. 4-5.

πέρχοντι φιλίαν συνέθετο πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα μὲν στρατηγὸν ἀπέδειξε τῆς Πελοποννήσου, τὸν δὲ Ἀλέξανδρον ἔπεισεν εἰς
2 τὴν Ἀσίαν πλεῦσαι πρὸς Ἀντίγονον. ὁ δ' ἕτερος τῶν στρατηγῶν Πτολεμαῖος[1] πορευθεὶς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς Καππαδοκίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν Ἀμισσὸν πολιορκουμένην ὑπ' Ἀσκληπιοδώρου τοῦ Κασάνδρου στρατηγοῦ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν κινδύνων ἐρρύσατο, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἀσκληπιόδωρον ὑποσπόνδους ἀφεὶς ἀνεκτήσατο τὴν σατραπείαν.
3 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πορευθεὶς διὰ Βιθυνίας καὶ Ζιβύτην τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Βιθυνῶν καταλαβὼν πολιορκοῦντα τήν τε τῶν Ἀστακηνῶν καὶ Χαλκηδονίων πόλιν συνηνάγκασε λῦσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν. ποιησάμενος δὲ συμμαχίαν πρός τε τὰς πόλεις ταύτας καὶ πρὸς τὸν Ζιβύτην ἔτι δὲ λαβὼν ὁμήρους, προῆγεν ἐπὶ Ἰωνίας καὶ Λυδίας· ἐγεγράφει γὰρ Ἀντίγονος αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν τῇ παραλίᾳ κατὰ τάχος, ὡς τοῦ
4 Σελεύκου τὸν πλοῦν ἐνταῦθα ποιησομένου. ὡς δέ ποθ' ἧκε πλησίον τῶν προειρημένων τόπων, Σέλευκος ἔτυχε μὲν πολιορκῶν Ἐρυθράς, πυθόμενος δὲ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν πλησίον οὖσαν ἀπέπλευσεν ἄπρακτος.

61. Ἀντίγονος δὲ παραγενομένου πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Πολυπέρχοντος πρὸς μὲν τοῦτον συνέθετο φιλίαν, αὐτὸς δὲ συναγαγὼν τῶν τε στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν παρεπιδημούντων κοινὴν ἐκκλησίαν κατηγόρησε Κασάνδρου, προφερόμενος τήν τε Ὀλυμπιάδος ἀναίρεσιν καὶ τὰ συμβάντα περὶ
2 Ῥωξάνην καὶ τὸν βασιλέα. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἔλεγεν

[1] Cp. chap. 57. 4.

perchon, he established friendship between them and 315 B.C.
Antigonus. He appointed Polyperchon general of the Peloponnesus, and he persuaded Alexander to sail to Antigonus in Asia. The other general, Ptolemy, proceeded with his army to Cappadocia where he found Amisus under siege by Asclepiodorus, a general of Cassander. He delivered the city from danger and recovered the satrapy after dismissing Asclepiodorus and his men under a truce. Thereafter advancing through Bithynia and finding Zibytes, the king of the Bithynians, laying siege to the city of the Astacenians[1] and the Chalcedonians, he forced him to abandon the siege. After making alliances with these cities and with Zibytes and also taking hostages from them, he proceeded toward Ionia and Lydia; for Antigonus had written ordering him to go quickly to the support of the coast, since Seleucus was about to make a naval expedition into that region. It so happened that, as he finally drew near to this area, Seleucus was laying siege to Erythrae,[2] but when he heard that the hostile force was near, he sailed away with nothing accomplished.

61. Antigonus, after Polyperchon's son Alexander had come to him, made a pact of friendship with him, and then, calling a general assembly of the soldiers and of the aliens who were dwelling there,[3] laid charges against Cassander, bringing forward the murder of Olympias and the treatment of Roxanê and the king.[4] Moreover, he said that Cassander had

[1] The city called Astacus on the bay of the same name is about 30 miles south-east of Chalcedon.
[2] An Ionian city on the peninsula opposite Chios.
[3] *i.e.* Macedonians not in the army. In chap. 62. 1 the decree passed by this assembly is described as the "decree of the Macedonians."
[4] Cp. chaps. 51. 6, 52. 4.

ὡς Θεσσαλονίκην μὲν βιασάμενος ἔγημεν, φανερῶς δὲ ἐξιδιάζεται τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν, ἔτι δὲ ὡς Ὀλυνθίους ὄντας πολεμιωτάτους Μακεδόνων κατῴκισεν εἰς τὴν ὁμώνυμον ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν καὶ Θήβας ἀνέστησε τὰς ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων κατασκαφείσας.
3 συναγανακτούντων δὲ τῶν ὄχλων ἔγραψε δόγμα καθ' ὃ τὸν Κάσανδρον ἐψηφίσατο πολέμιον εἶναι, ἐὰν μὴ τάς τε πόλεις καθέλῃ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν μητέρα τὴν Ῥωξάνην προαγαγὼν ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς ἀποδῷ τοῖς Μακεδόσι καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐὰν μὴ πειθαρχῇ τῷ καθεσταμένῳ στρατηγῷ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας παρειληφότι τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν Ἀντιγόνῳ. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρητούς, αὐτονόμους. ἐπιψηφισαμένων δὲ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ῥηθέντα διαπέστειλε πανταχῇ τοὺς
4 κομιοῦντας τὸ δόγμα· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλληνας ὑπελάμβανε διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐλευθερίας προθύμους ἕξειν συναγωνιστὰς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς δ' ἐν ταῖς ἄνω σατραπείαις στρατηγοὺς καὶ σατράπας, ὑπόπτως ἔχοντας ὡς Ἀντιγόνου καταλῦσαι διεγνωκότος τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεῖς, αὐτοῦ[1] φανερῶς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πόλεμον ἀναδεχομένου πάντας μεταπεσεῖσθαι ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ τοῖς παρ-
5 αγγελλομένοις ἑτοίμως ὑπακούσεσθαι. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων γενόμενος Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μὲν δοὺς πεντακόσια τάλαντα καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων εἰς μεγάλας ἀγαγὼν ἐλπίδας ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον· αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ Ῥοδίων μεταπεμψάμενος ναῦς καὶ τῶν ναυπηγηθεισῶν τὰς πλείστας καταρτίσας ἐπέπλευσε τῇ Τύρῳ. θαλασσοκρατῶν δὲ καὶ δια-

[1] αὐτοῦ Rhodoman: τοῦ.

married Thessalonicê by force,[1] and was clearly trying 315 B.C.
to establish his own claim to the Macedonian throne; and also that, although the Olynthians were very bitter enemies of the Macedonians, Cassander had re-established them in a city called by his own name and had rebuilt Thebes, which had been razed by the Macedonians.[2] When the crowd showed that it shared his wrath, he introduced a decree according to the terms of which it was voted that Cassander was to be an enemy unless he destroyed these cities again, released the king and his mother Roxanê from imprisonment and restored them to the Macedonians, and, in general, yielded obedience to Antigonus the duly established general who had succeeded to the guardianship of the throne. It was also stated that all the Greeks were free, not subject to foreign garrisons, and autonomous. When the soldiers had voted in favour of these measures, Antigonus sent men in every direction to carry the decree, for he believed that through their hope of freedom he would gain the Greeks as eager participants with him in the war, and that the generals and satraps in the upper satrapies, who had suspected that he was determined to depose the kings who inherited from Alexander, would, if he publicly took upon himself the war in their behalf, all change their minds and promptly obey his orders. Having finished these matters, he gave Alexander five hundred talents and, after leading him to hope for great things to come, sent him back to the Peloponnesus. He himself, after summoning ships from Rhodes and equipping most of those that had been built, sailed against Tyre. Although he pressed the siege with vigour for a year and three months, con-

[1] Cp. chap. 52. 1.

[2] Cp. chaps. 52. 2, 53. 2.

κωλύων σῖτον εἰσάγεσθαι προσεκαρτέρησε μὲν ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, εἰς ἔνδειαν δὲ δεινὴν ἀγαγὼν τοὺς ἐγκατακεκλεισμένους τοῖς μὲν παρὰ Πτολεμαίου στρατιώταις συνεχώρησεν ἀπελθεῖν ἔχουσι τὰ ἑαυτῶν, τὴν δὲ πόλιν δι' ὁμολογίας παραλαβὼν φρουρὰν τὴν διαφυλάξουσαν εἰς αὐτὴν εἰσήγαγεν.

62. Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πτολεμαῖος μὲν ἀκούσας τὰ δεδογμένα τοῖς μετ' Ἀντιγόνου Μακεδόσι περὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτὸς τὰ παραπλήσια, βουλόμενος εἰδέναι τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὅτι φροντίζει τῆς αὐτονομίας αὐτῶν
2 οὐχ ἧττον Ἀντιγόνου· οὐ γὰρ μικρὰν ῥοπὴν ὁρῶντες οὖσαν ἑκάτεροι προσλαβέσθαι τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων εὔνοιαν διημιλλῶντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς εἰς τούτους εὐεργεσίας. προσελάβετο δ' εἰς τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὸν τῆς Καρίας σατράπην Ἄσανδρον,[1] ἰσχύοντα καὶ πόλεις ἔχοντα τεταγμένας ὑφ'
3 ἑαυτὸν οὐκ ὀλίγας. προαπεσταλκὼς δὲ τοῖς ἐν Κύπρῳ βασιλεῦσι στρατιώτας τρισχιλίους ἐξέπεμψε τότε δύναμιν ἁδράν, σπεύδων συναναγκάσαι τοὺς ἐναντιοπραγοῦντας ποιεῖν τὸ προστασσόμενον.
4 Μυρμιδόνα μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀθηναῖον ἀπέστειλε μετὰ στρατιωτῶν μυρίων, Πολύκλειτον δὲ μετὰ νεῶν ἑκατόν, τῶν δὲ πάντων στρατηγὸν Μενέλαον τὸν ἀδελφόν. οὗτοι δὲ πλεύσαντες εἰς Κύπρον κἀκεῖ καταλαβόντες Σέλευκον μετὰ τοῦ στόλου συνήδρευ-
5 σαν βουλευόμενοι τί χρὴ πράττειν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς Πολύκλειτον μετὰ πεντήκοντα νεῶν πλεῖν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς περὶ Ἀριστό-

[1] Ἄσανδρον Wesseling, cp. Books 18. 3. 1, 39. 6; 19. 57. 1: Κάσανδρον.

trolling the sea and preventing food from being brought in, yet after he had reduced the besieged to extreme want, he permitted the soldiers who had come from Ptolemy to depart each with his own possessions; but when the city capitulated, he introduced into it a garrison to watch it closely.[1] 315 B.C.

62. While these things were going on, Ptolemy, who had heard what had been decreed by the Macedonians with Antigonus in regard to the freedom of the Greeks, published a similar decree himself, since he wished the Greeks to know that he was no less interested in their autonomy than was Antigonus. Each of them, indeed, perceiving that it was a matter of no little moment to gain the goodwill of the Greeks, rivalled the other in conferring favours upon this people. Ptolemy also brought into his alliance Asander, satrap of Caria, who was strong and had a considerable number of cities subject to him. To the kings on Cyprus, to whom he had previously sent three thousand soldiers, he now dispatched a strong army, for he was anxious to force those who were opposing him to carry out his commands. Myrmidon the Athenian, therefore, was sent with ten thousand men, and Polycleitus with a hundred ships, while Menelaüs, his own brother, was made commander of the whole force. When these had sailed to Cyprus and there had found Seleucus and his fleet, they met together and considered what they ought to do. They decided that Polycleitus with fifty ships should sail to the Peloponnesus and carry on the war against

[1] Tyre capitulated in 314.

δημον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον, ἔτι δὲ Πολυπέρχοντα,
Μυρμιδόνα δὲ καὶ τοὺς ξένους εἰς Καρίαν βοη-
θήσοντας τοῖς περὶ τὸν *Ἄσανδρον[1] πολεμουμένοις
ὑπὸ Πτολεμαίου[2] τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν
Σέλευκον καὶ Μενέλαον ὑπολειφθέντας ἐν Κύπρῳ
μετὰ Νικοκρέοντος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
τῶν συμμαχούντων διαπολεμεῖν τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις.
6 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον τῆς δυνάμεως διαμερισθείσης
οἱ περὶ Σέλευκον Κερύνειαν[3] μὲν καὶ Λάπιθον ἐξ-
επολιόρκησαν, Στασίοικον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν
Μαριέων[4] προσαγαγόμενοι τὸν Ἀμαθουσίων δυνά-
στην ἠνάγκασαν ὅμηρα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ τῶν Κιτίων
πόλιν, οὐ δυνάμενοι προσαγαγέσθαι, συνεχῶς ἐπο-
7 λιόρκουν πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει. κατὰ τοῦτον δὲ τὸν
καιρὸν πρὸς Ἀντίγονον κατέπλευσαν ἐξ Ἑλλησ-
πόντου ναῦς τεσσαράκοντα Θεμίσωνος ναυαρ-
χοῦντος· ὁμοίως δὲ ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου καὶ Ῥόδου
8 κατήγαγε σκάφη Διοσκουρίδης ὀγδοήκοντα. προ-
ϋπῆρχον δ᾽ αὐτῷ κατηρτισμέναι ναῦς τῶν ἐν Φοι-
νίκῃ ναυπηγηθεισῶν αἱ πρῶται συντελεσθεῖσαι·
αὗται δ᾽ ἦσαν σὺν ταῖς ἐν Τύρῳ καταληφθείσαις
ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσιν, ὥστε τὰς πάσας περὶ αὐτὸν
ἠθροῖσθαι ναῦς μακρὰς ἐξηρτυμένας διακοσίας τεσ-
σαράκοντα· τούτων δ᾽ ἦσαν τετρήρεις μὲν ἐννενή-
κοντα πεντήρεις δὲ δέκα, ἐννήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, δεκήρεις
9 δὲ δέκα,[5] ἄφρακτοι δὲ τριάκοντα. διελόμενος δὲ
τὸν στόλον πεντήκοντα μὲν ναῦς ἐξέπεμψεν εἰς
Πελοπόννησον, τῶν δ᾽ ἄλλων ναύαρχον καταστήσας

[1] *Ἄσανδρον Wesseling, cp. § 2 above: Κασάνδρον.
[2] Cp. chap. 57. 4.
[3] Κερύνειαν Dindorf: Κερυνίαν RX, Κυρηνίαν F.
[4] Μαριέων Rhodoman, cp. chaps. 59. 1, 79. 4: Μανέων R, Μανεῶν X.
[5] Tarn (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 49 (1939), 127) suggests ἑπτήρεις δὲ τρεῖς, ἑξήρεις δὲ δέκα; but more drastic changes are needed.

Aristodemus,[1] Alexander, and Polyperchon; that 315 B.C.
Myrmidon and the mercenaries should go to Caria to aid Asander, who was being attacked by Ptolemy the general; and that Seleucus and Menelaüs, left in Cyprus with King Nicocreon and the other allies, should carry on the war against those who opposed them.[2] After the forces had been divided in this way, Seleucus took Ceryneia and Lapithus, secured the support of Stasioecus, king of the Marienses, forced the ruler of the Amathusii to give a guaranty, and laid unremitting siege with all his forces to the city of the Citienses, which he had not been able to induce to join him. At about this time forty ships under the command of Themison came to Antigonus from the Hellespont, and likewise Dioscorides put in with eighty vessels from the Hellespont and Rhodes. The first to be finished of the ships that had been made in Phoenicia were also at hand fully equipped; including those captured at Tyre, they were one hundred and twenty, so that in all there were gathered together about Antigonus two hundred and forty fully equipped ships of war. Of these there were ninety with four orders of oarsmen, ten with five, three with nine, ten with ten, and thirty undecked boats.[3] Dividing this naval force, he sent fifty ships to the Peloponnesus, and ordered his nephew, Dioscorides,

[1] He had been sent to the Peloponnesus by Antigonus (chap. 57. 5).
[2] Cp. chap. 59. 1.
[3] A total of only 143 ships. Perhaps the triremes have been omitted.

Διοσκουρίδην τὸν ἀδελφιδοῦν προσέταξε περιπλεῖν τοῖς τε συμμάχοις παρεχόμενον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τῶν νήσων τὰς μήπω μετεχούσας τῆς συμμαχίας προσαγόμενον.

Τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἐν τούτοις ἦν.

63. Ἡμεῖς δ' ἐπεὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν πραχθέντα διήλθομεν, ἐν μέρει πάλιν τὰ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην διέξιμεν. Ἀπολλωνίδης γὰρ ὁ ταχθεὶς ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργείων πόλεως ἐξοδεύσας εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν νυκτὸς ἐκυρίευσε τῆς τῶν
2 Στυμφαλίων πόλεως· περὶ ταῦτα δ' αὐτοῦ διατρίβοντος τῶν Ἀργείων οἱ πρὸς Κάσανδρον ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοντες ἐπεκαλέσαντο τὸν Πολυπέρχοντος Ἀλέξανδρον, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν. τοῦ δ' Ἀλεξάνδρου βραδύνοντος Ἀπολλωνίδης φθάσας κατήντησεν εἰς Ἄργος. τῶν δ' ἐναντιουμένων καταλαβὼν εἰς πεντακοσίους συνηδρευκότας ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ τούτους μὲν ἀποκλείσας τῆς ἐξόδου ζῶντας κατέκαυσε, τῶν δ' ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πλείους ἐφυγάδευσεν, ὀλίγους δὲ συλλαβὼν
3 ἀπέκτεινε. Κάσανδρος δὲ πυθόμενος τὸν Ἀριστοδήμου κατάπλουν εἰς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὸ συνηθροισμένον πλῆθος τῶν ξένων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπεχείρησεν ἀφιστάναι τοὺς περὶ[1] Πολυπέρχοντα τῆς Ἀντιγόνου φιλίας· οὐχ ὑπακουόντων δ' αὐτῶν συναγαγὼν δύναμιν ἧκε διὰ τῆς Θετταλίας
4 εἰς Βοιωτίαν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ συνεπιλαβόμενος τοῖς Θηβαίοις τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας παρῆλθεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον· καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον Κεγχρεὰς ἐκπολιορκήσας ἐδῄωσε τὴν χώραν τῶν Κορινθίων, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα δύο φρούρια κατὰ κράτος ἑλὼν τοὺς ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καθεσταμένους φρουροὺς ὑποσπόν-

whom he had made commander of the rest, to make a circuit of the sea, guaranteeing the safety of the allies and winning the support of the islands that had not yet joined the alliance. 315 B.C.

Such was the state of Antigonus' affairs.[1]

63. Now that we have related the events that took place in Asia, we shall in turn discuss the affairs of Europe.[2] Apollonides, who had been appointed general over Argos by Cassander, made a raid into Arcadia by night and captured the city of the Stymphalians. But while he was engaged in this, those of the Argives who were hostile to Cassander sent for Alexander, Polyperchon's son, promising to hand the city over to him. Alexander, however, delayed, and Apollonides arrived back in Argos before him. Finding about five hundred of his antagonists gathered in the prytaneion, he prevented them from leaving the building and burned them alive. He exiled most of the others, but arrested and killed a few. When Cassander learned of Aristodemus' arrival in the Peloponnesus and of the multitude of mercenaries that he had collected there,[3] his first effort was to turn Polyperchon from his alliance with Antigonus. When Polyperchon, however, would not listen to him, he brought his army through Thessaly into Boeotia. After aiding the Thebans in building their walls, he went on into the Peloponnesus. First he took Cenchreae[4] and plundered the fields of the Corinthians. Then, after taking two fortresses by storm, he dismissed under a truce the garrisons that had been

[1] Continued in chap. 69.
[2] Continued from chap. 54. 4.
[3] Cp. chap. 60. 1.
[4] The port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf.

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[1] τοὺς περὶ Hertlein: τόν.

5 δους ἀφῆκεν. ἑξῆς δὲ τῇ τῶν Ὀρχομενίων πόλει προσβολὰς ποιησάμενος καὶ παρεισαχθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίως ἐχόντων πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον τῆς μὲν πόλεως φυλακὴν ἀπέλιπε, τῶν δὲ φίλων τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου καταφυγόντων εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξουσίαν τοῖς πολίταις ὃ βούλοιντο πρᾶξαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν Ὀρχομένιοι τοὺς ἱκέτας βιαίως ἀναστήσαντες ἅπαντας ἀνεῖλον παρὰ τὰ κοινὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων νόμιμα.

64. Ὁ δὲ Κάσανδρος παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν καὶ καταλαβὼν φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Πολυπέρχοντος τὴν πόλιν τὸ μὲν πολιορκεῖν αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἀπέγνω, παρελθὼν δ' εἰς Ἀρκαδίαν Δάμιν μὲν ἐπιμελητὴν τῆς Μεγάλης[1] πόλεως ἀπέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ παρελθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἀργείαν καὶ θεὶς τὸν τῶν Νεμέων ἀγῶνα τὴν εἰς Μακεδονίαν
2 ἐπάνοδον ἐποιήσατο. τούτου δὲ χωρισθέντος Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπιὼν τὰς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεις μετ' Ἀριστοδήμου τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ Κασάνδρου καθεσταμένας φρουρὰς ἐκβαλεῖν ἐπειρᾶτο, ταῖς δὲ
3 πόλεσιν ἀποκαθιστᾶν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν. ἃ δὴ πυθόμενος ὁ Κάσανδρος ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτὸν Πρεπέλαον,[2] ἀξιῶν Ἀντιγόνου μὲν ἀποστῆναι, συμμαχεῖν δ' αὐτῷ γνησίως. τοῦτο δ' αὐτοῦ πράξαντος στρατηγίαν δώσειν ἔφησε πάσης Πελοποννήσου καὶ δυνάμεως ἀποδείξειν κύριον, ἔτι δὲ κατ' ἀξίαν
4 τιμήσειν. ὁ δ' Ἀλέξανδρος ὁρῶν αὐτῷ συγχωρούμενον οὗ χάριν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπολέμει πρὸς Κάσανδρον, συμμαχίαν ποιησάμενος ἀπεδείχθη στρατηγὸς Πελοποννήσου.

Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Πολύκλειτος ὁ

[1] Μεγάλης added by Niese.

[2] Πρεπέλαον Rhodoman, cp. chap. 68. 5: Πρέπελλον.

placed in them by Alexander. Next he attacked the city of Orchomenus.[1] Being admitted by the faction hostile to Alexander, he installed a garrison in the city, and when the friends of Alexander took refuge in the shrine of Artemis, he permitted the citizens to treat them as they wished. The people of Orchomenus, accordingly, dragged the suppliants away by force and slew them all, contrary to the universal custom of the Greeks. 315 B.C.

64. Cassander passed on into Messenia, but finding the city [2] garrisoned by Polyperchon, he temporarily relinquished his plan of laying siege to it. Passing over into Arcadia, he left Damis as governor of Megalopolis, while he himself, after going into Argolis and presiding at the Nemean Games,[3] returned to Macedonia. After he had gone, Alexander visited the cities of the Peloponnesus accompanied by Aristodemus and tried to drive out the garrisons that had been established by Cassander and to restore freedom to the cities. As soon as Cassander learned this, he sent Prepelaüs to Alexander, asking him to desert Antigonus and conclude with himself an alliance in due form. He said that if he did this, he would give him the command of all the Peloponnesus, make him general of an army, and honour him according to his deserts. Alexander, since he saw that the thing for which he had originally made war against Cassander was being granted to him, made the alliance and was appointed general of the Peloponnesus.

While all this was taking place, Polycleitus, who

[1] In Arcadia.

[2] *i.e.* Messenê on the west side of Mount Ithomê. Cp. chap. 54. 3.

[3] In the summer of 315.

πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ Σέλευκον ἐκ Κύπρου πλεύ-
5 σας κατῆρεν εἰς Κεγχρεάς, ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν Ἀλεξ-
άνδρου μετάθεσιν καὶ θεωρῶν μηδὲν ὑπάρχον
πολέμιον σύστημα τὸν πλοῦν ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας ἐποι-
ήσατο. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ παρακομισθεὶς εἰς Ἀφρο-
δισιάδα τῆς Κιλικίας, ὡς[1] ἤκουσεν ὅτι Θεόδοτος
μὲν ὁ Ἀντιγόνου ναύαρχος ἐκ Πατάρων τῆς Λυ-
κίας παραπλεῖ ταῖς ἀπὸ Ῥόδου ναυσίν, ἐχούσαις
ἀπὸ Καρίας πληρώματα, καὶ διότι Περίλαος μετὰ
στρατιωτῶν παράγει πεζῇ, παρεχόμενος τῷ στόλῳ
τῆς ἀγωγῆς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀμφοτέρους κατ-
6 εστρατήγησε. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ στρατιώτας ἀποβιβά-
σας ἔκρυψεν ἐν εὐθέτῳ τόπῳ, καθ' ὃν ἀναγκαῖον
ἦν τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν πάροδον ποιήσασθαι, αὐτὸς
δὲ πάσαις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσας καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ
λαβὼν ἀκρωτήριον ἐπετήρει τὴν τῶν πολεμίων
παρουσίαν. ἐμπεσόντων δὲ πρῶτον τῶν πεζῶν εἰς
τὴν ἐνέδραν συνέβη τόν τε Περίλαον ἁλῶναι καὶ
τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν μαχομένους, οὓς δὲ
7 ζωγρηθῆναι. ἐπιχειρούντων δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥόδου
νεῶν παραβοηθεῖν τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐπιπλεύσας ὁ Πολύ-
κλειτος ἄφνω συντεταγμένῳ τῷ στόλῳ ῥᾳδίως
ἐτρέψατο τεταραγμένους τοὺς πολεμίους. διόπερ
συνέβη τάς τε ναῦς ἁλῶναι πάσας καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν
οὐκ ὀλίγους, ἐν οἷς καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Θεόδοτον τραυ-
ματίαν γενόμενον μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τελευτῆσαι.
8 Πολύκλειτος μὲν οὖν χωρὶς κινδύνων τηλικαῦτα
πλεονεκτήσας ἀπέπλευσεν εἰς Κύπρον, ἐντεῦθεν δ'
εἰς Πηλούσιον· ὁ δὲ Πτολεμαῖος τοῦτον μὲν ἐπαι-
νέσας δωρεαῖς μεγάλαις ἐτίμησε καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον
προῆγεν ὡς ἀρχηγὸν γεγονότα μεγάλου προτερή-
ματος, τὸν δὲ Περίλαον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων αἰχμαλώτων

had been sent by Seleucus from Cyprus, sailed into Cenchreae, but when he heard of Alexander's change in allegiance and saw that there was no hostile force in existence, he sailed for Pamphylia. He sailed along the coast from Pamphylia to Aphrodisias in Cilicia; and, hearing that Theodotus, the admiral of Antigonus, was sailing from Patara in Lycia in Rhodian ships with Carian crews, and that Perilaüs was accompanying him with an army on land, thus securing the safety of the fleet in its voyage, he outgeneralled both of them. Disembarking his soldiers, he concealed them in a suitable place where it was necessary for the enemy to pass, and he himself sailed near with all his ships, taking cover behind a promontory while awaiting the coming of the enemy. The army was first to fall into the ambush; Perilaüs was captured, some of the rest fell while fighting, and others were taken prisoners. When the Rhodian ships tried to go to the aid of their own forces, Polycleitus sailed up suddenly with his fleet drawn up for battle and easily routed the disorganized enemy. The result was that all the ships were captured and a considerable number of the men also, among them Theodotus himself, who was wounded and a few days later died. After Polycleitus had gained so great an advantage without danger, he sailed away to Cyprus and thence to Pelusium. Ptolemy praised him, honoured him with great gifts, and gave him much greater preferment as having been the author of an important victory. He released Perilaüs and some

315 B.C.

[1] ὡς added by Reiske.

τινὰς ἀπέλυσεν, ἐλθούσης περὶ τούτων πρεσβείας παρ' Ἀντιγόνου. αὐτὸς δὲ παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὸ καλούμενον Ἔκρηγμα κἀκεῖ συνελθὼν εἰς λόγους Ἀντιγόνῳ πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν, οὐ συγχωροῦντος Ἀντιγόνου τὰ ἀξιούμενα.

65. Ἡμεῖς δὲ διεληλυθότες τὰ πραχθέντα τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῆς Εὐρώπης περὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ Μακεδονίαν ἐν μέρει διέξιμεν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑσπέραν νευόντων μερῶν. Ἀγαθοκλῆς γὰρ ὁ τῶν Συρακοσίων δυνάστης κατέχων φρούριον τῶν Μεσσηνίων ἐπηγγείλατο λαβὼν παρ' αὐτῶν τριάκοντα
2 τάλαντα παραδώσειν τὸν τόπον. δόντων δὲ τῶν Μεσσηνίων τἀργύριον[1] οὐ μόνον διεψεύσατο τοὺς πιστεύσαντας τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην αὐτὴν ἐπεχείρησε καταλαβέσθαι. πυθόμενος γὰρ μέρος τι τοῦ τείχους ἐν αὐτῇ πεπτωκέναι πεζῇ μὲν τοὺς ἱππεῖς ἀπέστειλεν ἐκ Συρακουσσῶν, αὐτὸς δ' ἀναλαβὼν ναῦς ἡμιολίας νυκτὸς κατέπλευσε
3 πλησίον τῆς πόλεως. προαισθομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπιβουλευομένων[2] ταύτης μὲν τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἀπέτυχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς Μύλας πλεύσας καὶ πολιορκήσας τὸ φρούριον δι' ὁμολογίας παρέλαβε. καὶ τότε μὲν εἰς Συρακούσσας ἐχωρίσθη, κατὰ δὲ τὰς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὰς πάλιν ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην.
4 πλησίον δὲ τῆς πόλεως στρατοπεδεύσας καὶ προσβολὰς συνεχεῖς ποιούμενος οὐδὲν ἀξιόλογον ἴσχυσε βλάψαι τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐκ Συρακουσ-

[1] τἀργύριον Reiske: ἀργύριον.
[2] ἐπιβουλευομένων Reiske: προεπιβουλευομένων.

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[1] The "Outbreak" between Lake Sirbonis and the sea east of the Delta of the Nile.
[2] Continued in chap. 66.

of the other captives when an envoy in their behalf came from Antigonus. He himself went to Ecregma,[1] as it is called, where he conferred with Antigonus, returning again since Antigonus would not agree to his demands.[2] 315 B.C.

65. Now that we have related the deeds of the European Greeks in Greece and Macedonia, we shall consider in due order the history of the western regions.[3] Agathocles, the dynast of Syracuse, who was holding a fort of the Messenians,[4] promised to surrender the position on receiving from them thirty talents; but when the Messenians gave him the money, he not only failed to keep his promise to those who had put faith in him, but he also undertook to capture Messenê itself. On learning that a certain section of the wall of the city was in ruins, he sent his cavalry by land from Syracuse while he himself sailed close to the city by night with light vessels.[5] Since, however, the intended victims of the plot learned of it beforehand, this attack failed; but he sailed to Mylae and besieged the fort, which surrendered by capitulation. He then departed for Syracuse, but at the time of the harvest he made another expedition against Messenê. He camped near the city and made repeated attacks, but he was not able to inflict any considerable damage upon his enemies, for many of the exiles from Syracuse had

[3] Continued from chap. 10.
[4] *i.e.* the people of Messenê (or Messana) in north-eastern Sicily.
[5] The ναῦς ἡμιολία, however it may have received its name (literally, a ship of one and a half), was a light swift vessel, found useful by Alexander on the rivers of India (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 6. 1. 1, 18. 3), but apparently used in the Mediterranean chiefly by pirates (Book 16. 61. 4; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3. 2. 4).

σῶν φυγάδων πολλοὶ συνεδεδραμήκεισαν εἰς τὴν
πόλιν, οἳ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ
πρὸς τὸν τύραννον μῖσος ἐκθύμως ἠγωνίζοντο.
5 καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον ἧκον ἐκ Καρχηδόνος πρέσβεις,
οἳ τῷ μὲν Ἀγαθοκλεῖ περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐπ-
ετίμησαν ὡς παραβαίνοντι τὰς συνθήκας, τοῖς δὲ
Μεσσηνίοις εἰρήνην παρεσκεύασαν καὶ τὸ φρούριον
ἀναγκάσαντες ἀποκαταστῆσαι τὸν τύραννον ἀπέ-
6 πλευσαν εἰς τὴν Λιβύην. ὁ δ' Ἀγαθοκλῆς παρελ-
θὼν εἰς Ἀβάκαινον πόλιν σύμμαχον, τοὺς δοκοῦντας
ἀλλοτρίως ἔχειν τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν, ὄντας
πλείους τῶν τεσσαράκοντα.
7 Ἅμα δὲ τούτοις πραττομένοις Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν δια-
πολεμοῦντες Σαμνίταις Φερέντην, πόλιν τῆς Ἀπου-
λίας, κατὰ κράτος εἷλον. οἱ δὲ τὴν Νουκερίαν τὴν
Ἀλφατέρναν καλουμένην οἰκοῦντες πεισθέντες ὑπό
τινων τῆς μὲν Ῥωμαίων φιλίας ἀπέστησαν, πρὸς
δὲ τοὺς Σαμνίτας συμμαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο.

[1] A town about 30 miles south-west of Messenê.

taken refuge in the city, and these fought furiously both for the sake of their own safety and because of their hatred for the tyrant. At this time there came envoys from Carthage, who censured Agathocles for what he had done on the ground that he had violated the treaty. They also secured peace for the people of Messenê, and then, when they had forced the tyrant to restore the fort, they sailed back to Libya. Agathocles, however, went on to Abacaenon,[1] an allied city, where he put to death those who appeared to be hostile to him, being more than forty in number.[2] 315 B.C.

While these things were taking place, the Romans[3] in their war with the Samnites took Ferentum, a city of Apulia, by storm. The inhabitants of Nuceria, which is called Alfaterna, yielding to the persuasion of certain persons, abandoned their friendship for Rome and made an alliance with the Samnites.[4]

[2] Continued in chap. 70.
[3] Continued from chap. 10. 2.
[4] Continued in chap. 72. 3.

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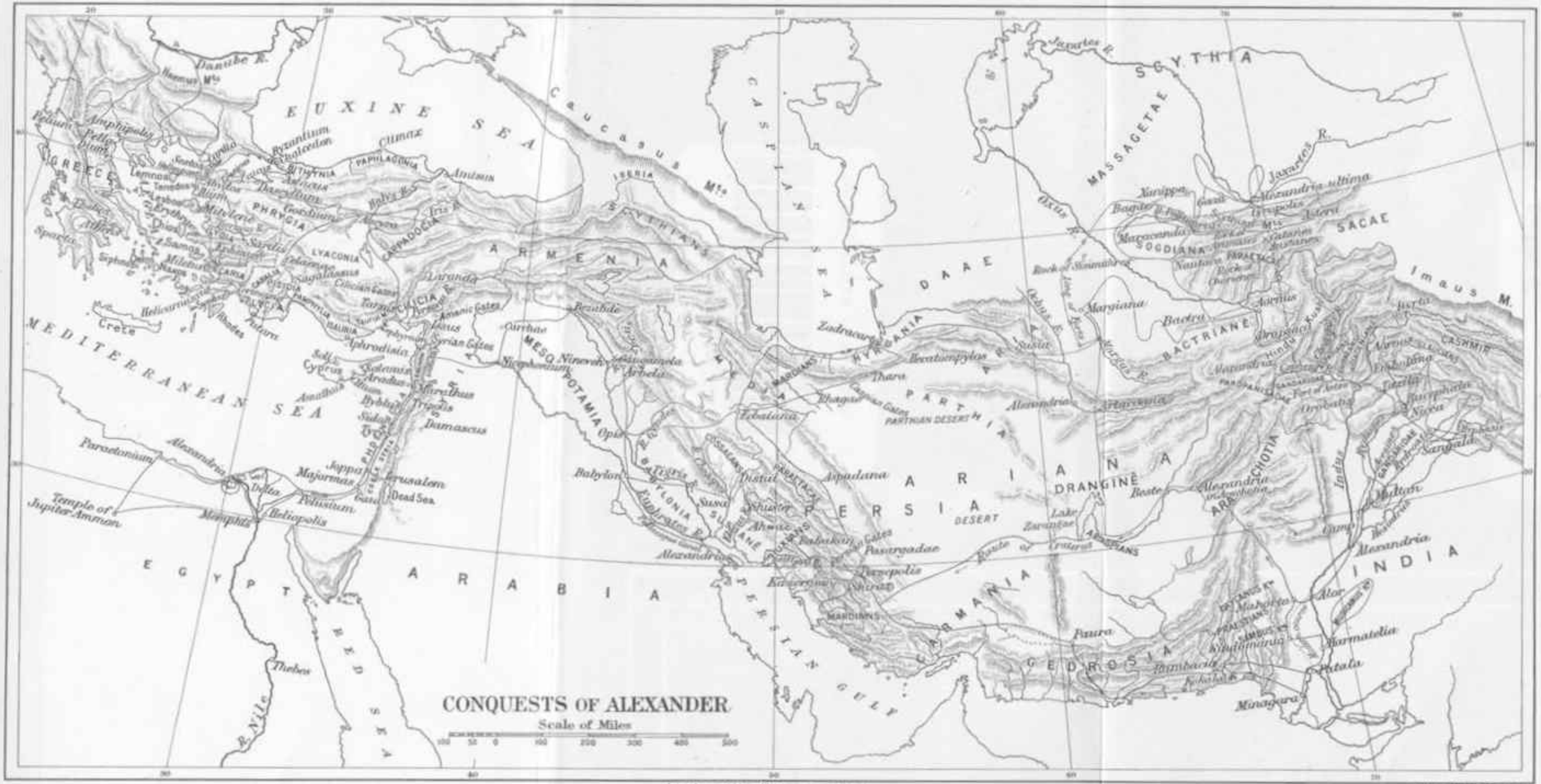
In most cases references to a people are included with references to the city or state. An effort, not always successful, has been made to distinguish the several bearers of a common name.

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